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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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JULY 11, 1957

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PART 72

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1958

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, JULY 11, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William A. Rusher, associate counsel, Benjamin Mandel, research director, and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Hruska, this morning we have four witnesses who will testify as to the meaning of the recent changes in the Soviet Union.

It is the duty of this committee to inform the Senate about the nature of the Communist organization and to inform the Senate on the developments that have taken place so that we might know as much as possible about the nature of this organization.

Now, since our last meeting, Senator, there has been an indictment handed down against two American citizens for espionage. Since this deals directly with this subject, I would like to introduce into the record the indictment.

Senator HRUSKA. It will be received and made a part of the record at this point.

(The indictment referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 481" and reads as follows:)

## EXHIBIT No. 481

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

United States of America v. George Zlatovski, also known as "George Michael," also known as "Rector," and Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," Defendants

### INDICTMENT

The Grand Jury charges:

### COUNT ONE

1. That from in or about January 1940 and continuously thereafter up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, in the Southern District of New York; in Washington, D. C.; in Paris, France; in Geneva, Zurich, and Lausanne, Switzerland; in Vienna, Salzburg, and Bad Gastein, Austria; in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and elsewhere, George Zlatovski, also known as "George Michael," also known as "Rector," and Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," the defendants herein, unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly did conspire and agree with each other and with Jack Soble,

Myra Soble, Jacob Albam, Petr Vassilievich Fedotov, Alexander Mikhailovich Korotkov, Vassili M. Zubilin, also known as "Edward Herbert," Elizabeth Zubilin, also known as "Lisa," Mikhail Chaliapin, Stepan N. Choudenko, also known as "The Professor," Anatole B. Gromov, Leonid Dmitrievich Petrov, Vitaly Genadievich Tcherniawski, Afanasi Ivanovitch Yefimov, Christopher Georgievich Petrosian, Igor Vassilievitch Sokolov, Vladimir Alexandrovich, also known as "Volodia," whose full and complete name is otherwise unknown to the Grand Jury, and Vassili Mikhailovich Molev, coconspirators but not defendants herein, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to violate subsection (a) of Section 794, Title 18, United States Code, in that they did unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly conspire and agree to communicate, deliver, and transmit to a foreign government, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and representatives and agents thereof, directly and indirectly, documents, writings, photographs, notes and information relating to the national defense of the United States of America and particularly information relating to intelligence and counterintelligence activities of the United States Government, and relating to the personnel, arms and equipment of the United States armed forces, with intent and reason to believe that the said documents, writings, photographs, photographic negatives, notes, and information would be used to the advantage of a foreign nation, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. It was a part of said conspiracy that the defendants and their coconspirators would collect and obtain, and attempt to collect and obtain and would aid and induce divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to collect and obtain information relating to the national defense of the United States of America, with intent and reason to believe that the said information would be used to the advantage of the said foreign nation, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and certain of the coconspirators, including Jack Soble, Myra Soble, Jacob Albam, Petr Vassilievich Fedotov, Alexander Mikhailovich Korotkov, Leonid Dmitrievich Petrov, Vitaly Genadievich Tcherniawski, Afanasi Ivanovitch Yefimov, Christopher Georgievich Petrosian, Igor Vassilievitch Sokolov, Vladimir Alexandrovich, also known as "Volodia," whose full and complete name is otherwise unknown to the Grand Jury, Vassili M. Zubilin, also known as "Edward Herbert," Elizabeth Zubilin, also known as "Lisa," Mikhail Chaliapin, Stepan N. Choudenko, also known as "The Professor," Anatole B. Gromov, and Vassili Mikhailovich Molev, being representatives, agents and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, would by personal contact, communications, and other means to the Grand Jury unknown, both directly and indirectly, employ, supervise, pay and maintain the defendants and other coconspirators for the purpose of communicating, delivering and transmitting information relating to the national defense of the United States to said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4. It was further a part of said conspiracy that certain of the defendants and certain of their coconspirators would be employed by the Government of the United States in various capacities and activities in the United States, in France, in Germany, in Austria, and in other places to the Grand Jury unknown, for the purpose of being in a position to acquire information relating to the national defense of the United States, and would communicate, deliver and transmit, and attempt to communicate, deliver and transmit, and would aid and induce each other and divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to communicate, deliver and transmit information relating to the national defense of the United States to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants and their coconspirators would use false and fictitious names, coded communications, and other and further means to the Grand Jury unknown, to conceal the existence and purpose of said conspiracy.

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendants and their coconspirators did commit, among others, in the Southern District of New York and elsewhere, the following:

#### OVERT ACTS

1. In or about 1940, in Moscow in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, had a conversation with Lavrenti Beria, the Peoples' Commissar of Internal Affairs in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

and with Petr Vassilieovich Fedotov, and others coconspirators herein, during which it was agreed that Jack Soble should depart from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and execute assignments in the Soviet intelligence service.

2. On or about October 20, 1941, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, entered the United States of America.

3. In or about the month of August 1942, in the Southern District of New York, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, did meet with Vassali M. Zubilin, a coconspirator herein, at the Paris Hotel at 97th Street and West End Avenue, New York City.

4. In the fall of 1942, in the Southern District of New York, Vassili M. Zubilin, a coconspirator herein introduced Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, to Mikhail A. Chaliapin, a coconspirator herein.

5. In or about the month of March 1944, in the Southern District of New York, Elizabeth Zubilin, a coconspirator herein, telephoned one Boris Morros in Hollywood, California, instructing said Morros to come to New York City.

6. In or about the month of March 1944, in the Southern District of New York, Vassili M. Zubilin and Jack Soble, coconspirators herein, had a conversation with Boris Morros in the Far East Restaurant located in the vicinity of Eighth Avenue and 59th Street, New York City, during which Zubilin informed Morros that Morros would thereafter receive instructions from Soble.

7. In or about 1944, in the Southern District of New York Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, did meet with one Stepan N. Choundenko, a coconspirator herein.

8. In or about the summer of 1945, in the Southern District of New York, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, did meet and have a conversation with Anatole B. Gromov, a coconspirator herein, at which time said Gromov directed Jack Soble to meet him in Washington, D. C.

9. In or about the month of December 1945, in the Southern District of New York, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, met Jane Foster Zlatovski a defendant herein, at the Majestic Apartments, located on Central Park West, New York City.

10. In or about the month of December 1945, in the Southern District of New York, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski did meet with Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, and did deliver to Jack Soble for transmittal to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics a report on Indonesia based upon information obtained by her while she was in the employ of the Office of Strategic Services of the United States of America.

11. In or about the month of September 1947, in Paris, France, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski did meet Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein.

12. In or about the month of October 1947 the defendants Jane Foster Zlatovski and George Zlatovski did travel from Paris, France, to Vienna, Austria.

13. In or about the month of October 1947, in Vienna, Austria, the defendants Jane Foster Zlatovski and George Zlatovski met with a representative of the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the said Jane Foster Zlatovski at that time being an employee of the United States of America, and the said George Zlatovski at that time being an officer in the United States Army.

14. On or about March 25, 1948, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski went to Paris, France, for the purpose of meeting with a representative of the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and transmitting to him information relating to the national defense of the United States of America, the said Jane Foster Zlatovski at that time being an employee of the United States of America.

15. On or about May 25, 1948, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski went to Paris, France, for the purpose of meeting with a representative of the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and transmitting to him information relating to the national defense of the United States of America, the said Jane Foster Zlatovski at that time being an employee of the United States of America.

16. On or about July 25, 1948, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski went to Paris, France, for the purpose of meeting with a representative of the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and transmitting to him information relating to the national defense of the United States of America, the said Jane Foster Zlatovski at that time being an employee of the United States of America.

17. On or about October 25, 1948, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski went to Paris, France, for the purpose of meeting with a representative of the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and transmitting to him information relating to the national defense of the United States of America, the said Jane Foster Zlatovski at that time being an employee of the United States of America.

gence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and transmitting to him information relating to the national defense of the United States of America.

18. On or about February 25, 1949, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski went to Paris, France, for the purpose of meeting with a representative of the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and transmitting to him information relating to the national defense of the United States of America.

19. In or about the month of June 1949, in Paris, France, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski delivered to Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, several sheets of paper with writing thereon comprising a report on a certain person employed in Paris, France, by the Economic Cooperation Administration of the United States of America.

20. In or about the month of June 1949, in Paris, France, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski delivered to Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, several sheets of paper with writing thereon, in which she reported that she had collected information concerning the personnel and operations of intelligence units of the United States of America, including biographical data on American intelligence agents.

21. On or about June 16, 1949, in Paris, France, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, did hand to Boris Morros the sheets of paper referred to in overt acts No. 19 and No. 20 and a separate document, with instructions to carry them to Vienna, Austria.

22. On or about July 6, 1949, in Vienna, Austria, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, did receive from the coconspirator Vitaly Genadievich Tcherniawski an envelope containing United States currency.

23. On or about July 7, 1949, in Zurich, Switzerland, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, and Boris Morros had a conversation during which Jack Soble said he intended to pay approximately \$1,100 to the defendants George Zlatovski and Jane Foster Zlatovski.

24. In or about 1949, in the Southern District of New York, Myra Soble, a coconspirator herein, had a conversation with the defendant George Zlatovski.

25. In or about 1949, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski, at the instruction of Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, did send money to the defendant George Zlatovski in the United States to enable him to travel to France.

26. During the period from in or about the month of December 1949 to in or about the month of October 1950, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, paid to the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski sums of money at approximately monthly intervals, which money came from representatives and agents of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

27. During the period from in or about the month of December 1949 to in or about the month of October 1950, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, paid to the defendant George Zlatovski sums of money at approximately monthly intervals, which money came from representatives and agents of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

28. During the period from in or about the month of December 1949 to in or about the month of October 1950, the defendant George Zlatovski, in Vienna, Austria, obtained and furnished to Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, for transmittal to the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, information regarding a certain processing organization for refugees from countries in the Soviet bloc, including the names of certain persons who had fled to Austria from said countries.

29. In or about the month of December 1949 the defendants Jane Foster Zlatovski and George Zlatovski did, pursuant to instructions from Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, travel to Austria to obtain compromising information regarding the personal lives, specifically, the "sexual and drinking habits," of the personnel assigned and attached to American installations in Austria.

30. On or about February 1, 1950, Petr Vassilievich Fedotov, Alexander Mikhailovich Korotkov, and Leonid Dmitrievich Petrov, coconspirators herein, did meet with Boris Morros in an apartment in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

31. In or about November 1950, Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, instructed the defendant George Zlatovski to go to Yugoslavia to establish contacts there and determine conditions in Yugoslavia.

32. In or about December 1950 the defendant George Zlatovski furnished to Jack Soble, a coconspirator herein, a report on his observations in Yugoslavia.

33. In or about the spring of 1951 the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski did travel from Paris, France, to Zurich, Switzerland.

34. In or about the spring of 1951, in Zurich, Switzerland, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski did meet two representatives of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics and did deliver a piece of paper with writing thereon to one of the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

35. In or about the month of June 1951, in Vienna, Austria, the defendant George Zlatovski handed to Boris Morros several sheets of paper in writing thereon in the English language, bearing at the top of the first page thereof the names "Rector" and "Slang," the code names for the defendants George Zlatovski and Jane Foster Zlatovski.

36. In or about the month of June 1951, in Vienna, Austria, the defendant George Zlatovski did hand to Boris Morros for delivery to representatives of the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics several sheets of paper with writing thereon in the Russian language.

37. On or about September 22, 1954, in Paris, France, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski did write and hand to Boris Morros a one-page report addressed to "A. M." a representative of the intelligence service of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which report was signed with the code name "Slang."

38. In or about the month of March 1955, in the Southern District of New York, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski met one Boris Morros.

(In violation of Section 794(c), Title 18, U. S. C.)

COUNT TWO

The Grand Jury further charges:

1. That from in or about January 1940 and continuously thereafter up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, in the Southern District of New York; in Washington, D. C.; in Vienna, Salzburg and Bad Gastein, Austria; in Paris, France; in Lausanne, Zurich, and Geneva, Switzerland; in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and elsewhere, George Zlatovski, also known as "George Michael," also known as "Rector," and Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," the defendants herein, unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly did conspire and agreed together, and with each other, and with Jack Soble, Myra Soble, Jacob Albam, Petr Vassilievich Fedotov, Alexander Mikhailovich Korotkov, Vassili M. Zubilin, also known as "Edward Herbert," Elizabeth Zubilin, also known as "Lisa," Mikhail Chaliapin, Stepan N. Chouendenko, also known as "The Professor," Anatole B. Gromov, Leonid Dmitrievich Petrov, Vitaly Genadievich Tcherniawski, Afanasi Ivanovich Yefimov, Christopher Georgievich Petrosian, Igor Vassilievitch Sokolov, Vladimir Alexandrovich, also known as "Volodia," whose full and true name is otherwise unknown to the Grand Jury, and Vassili Mikhailovich Molev, coconspirators but not defendants herein, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to violate Subsection (c) of Section 793, Title 18, United States Code, in the manner and by the means hereinafter set forth.

2. It was a part of said conspiracy that the defendants and their coconspirators would, for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the national defense of the United States of America, receive and obtain and attempt to receive and obtain documents, writings, photographs, photographic negatives and notes of things connected with the national defense of the United States, knowing and having reason to believe at the time of said agreement to receive and obtain said documents, writings, photographs, photographic negatives and notes of things connected with the national defense, that said material would be obtained, taken, made, and disposed of contrary to the provisions of Chapter 37, Title 18, United States Code, in that they would be delivered and transmitted, directly and indirectly, to a foreign government, to wit, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, and to representatives, officers, agents and employees of the said Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the said defendants intending and having reason to believe that the said documents, writings, photographs, photographic negatives and notes of things relating to the national defense of the United States of America, would be used to the advantage of a foreign nation, to wit, the said Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendants and their coconspirators would make contact with persons to the Grand Jury unknown, who were resident in the United States, in France, in Germany, in Austria, and at places to the Grand Jury unknown, and who, by reason of their employment, position or otherwise, were acquainted and familiar with and were in possession of or had access to information relating to the national defense of the United States of America.

4. It was further a part of said conspiracy that certain of the defendants and certain of their coconspirators would be employed by the Government of the

United States in various capacities and activities in the United States, in France, in Germany, in Austria, and in other places to the Grand Jury unknown, for the purpose of being in a position to acquire information relating to the national defense of the United States, and would communicate, deliver and transmit, and attempt to communicate, deliver and transmit, and would aid and induce each other and divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to communicate, deliver, and transmit information relating to the national defense of the United States to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants and their co-conspirators would use false and fictitious names, coded communications, and other and further means to the Grand Jury unknown, to conceal the existence and purpose of said conspiracy.

#### OVERT ACTS

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendants and their coconspirators did commit, among others, within the Southern District of New York and elsewhere, the overt acts as alleged and set forth under Count I of this indictment, all of which overt acts are hereby realleged by the Grand Jury.

(Section 793, Title 18, United States Code.)

#### COUNT THREE

The Grand Jury further charges:

1. That throughout the entire period from in or about January 1940 and up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through its representatives, agents, and employees, maintained within the United States and other parts of the world, a system and organization for the purpose of obtaining, collecting and receiving information and material from the United States of a military, commercial, industrial and political nature, and in connection therewith, recruited, induced, engaged and maintained the defendants and coconspirators hereinafter named and divers other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, as agents, representatives and employees to obtain, collect and receive such information and material for the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. That from in or about January 1940 and continuously thereafter up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, in the Southern District of New York; in Washington, D. C., in Paris, France; in Geneva, Zurich and Lausanne, Switzerland; in Vienna, Salzburg, and Bad Gastein, Austria; in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and elsewhere, George Zlatovski, also known as "George Michael," also known as "Rector," and Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," the defendants herein, unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly did conspire and agree together, and with each other, and with the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and with agents, officers and employees of the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including Jack Soble, Myra Soble, Jacob Albam, Petr Vassilievich Fedotov, Alexander Mihailovich Korotkov, Leonid Dmitrievich Petrov, Vitaly Genadievich Tcherniawski, Afanasi Ivanovitch Yefimov, Vassili M. Zubilin, also known as "Edward Herbert," Elizabeth Zubilin, also known as "Lisa," Mikhail Chalia-pin, Stepan M. Choudenko, also known as "The Professor," Anatole B. Gromov, Christopher Georgievich Petrosian, Igor Vassilievitch Sokolov, Vladimir Alexandrovich, also known as "Volodia," whose full and true name is otherwise unknown to the Grand Jury, and Vassili Mikhailovich Molev, coconspirators but not defendants herein, and divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to commit an offense against the United States of America, to wit, to violate Section 951 of Title 18, United States Code, in the manner and by the means hereinafter set forth.

3. It was a part of said conspiracy that the defendants and certain of the coconspirators, none of whom was included among the accredited diplomatic or consular officers or attachés of the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or of any foreign government, would, within the United States, and without prior notification to the Secretary of State, act as agents of the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and would, as such agents, obtain, collect and receive information and material of a military, commercial, industrial and political nature, and as such agents would communicate and deliver said information and material to other coconspirators for transmis-

sion to the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was a part of said conspiracy that the other coconspirators residing outside the United States would direct, aid and assist the defendants aforesaid to act as such agents within the United States and would receive and transmit the said information and material to the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4. It was further a part of the said conspiracy that the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its officers, agents and employees would employ, supervise and maintain the defendants within the United States as such agents of the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting and communicating information and material of a military, commercial, industrial and political nature.

5. It was further a part of the said conspiracy that the defendants would receive sums of money and other valuable considerations from the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, its officers, agents and employees in return for acting as said agents of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics within the United States for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting and communicating information, material, messages and instructions on behalf of and for the use and advantage of the said government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

6. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendants would use false and fictitious names, coded communications, and would resort to other means to the Grand Jury unknown to conceal the existence and purpose of said conspiracy.

#### OVERT ACTS

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendants and their coconspirators did commit, among others, within the Southern District of New York and elsewhere, the overt acts as alleged and set forth under Count I of this indictment, all of which overt acts are hereby realleged by the Grand Jury.

(In violation of Section 371, Title 18, United States Code.)

#### COUNT FOUR

The Grand Jury further charges:

That in or about the month of December 1945, within the Southern District of New York, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," unlawfully, knowingly and wilfully did then and there act as an agent of a foreign government, to wit, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, without prior notification to the Secretary of State of the United States of America, in that the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski did, for and on behalf of and at the request of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, its officers, agents and employees, write and deliver to Jack Soble, a coconspirator but not a defendant herein, for transmission to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a written report on Indonesia which report was based upon information obtained by said defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski in the course of her employment with the Office of Strategic Services of the United States of America, the defendant then and there not being a diplomatic or consular official or attaché.

The defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski fled from justice in or about the month of April 1947 and departed from the United States of America and remained continuously outside of the United States of America until on and after September 1, 1954, the date of the enactment of c. 1214, Section 10 (a), 68 Stat. 1145.

(Title 18, United States Code, Section 951.)

#### COUNT FIVE

The Grand Jury further charges:

1. At all times from about June 28, 1942, and up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," the defendant herein, has been a person as defined in Title 22, United States Code, Sections 611, et seq. (known as the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended), hereinafter referred to as "the Act."

2. At all times from about June 28, 1942, and up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics including its Government-controlled instrumentalities, agents, and affiliates, has been a foreign principal as defined in the Act.

3. During the period from about June 28, 1942, to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," has acted within the United States and within the Southern District of New York as an agent of a foreign principal as defined in the Act because, within the United States and within the Southern District of New York, she has reported information to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including its Government-controlled instrumentalities, agents and affiliates; and within the Southern District of New York, she has acted at the order, request, and direction of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including its Government-Controlled instrumentalities, agents and affiliates.

4. By reason of which acts, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," has during the aforesaid period acted within the United States and within the Southern District of New York as an agent of a foreign principal, and has therefore been under the duty to file a true and complete registration statement as required by Section 612 of the Act.

5. From on or about January 28, 1942, and at various times thereafter up to the date of the filing of this indictment, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," has unlawfully and wilfully acted as an agent of a foreign principal within the Southern District of New York without having filed with the Attorney General of the United States the registration statement required by the Act.

6. By reason of the nature of her activities and her relationship with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including its Government-controlled instrumentalities, agents, and affiliates, the defendant Jane Foster Zlatovski, also known as "Slang," does not fall within the purview of any of the exemptions from registration provided by the Act.

(Title 22, United States Code, Sections 612, 618.)

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to put into the record at this point the statement of yours, Senator Hruska, on the significance of this, particularly in connection with your statement where you say that "the folly of the present campaign against security safeguards in our Government" was brought out by the fact that the State Department wanted to deny a passport to Mrs. Zlatovski and was not able to do so.

Senator HRUSKA. It will be received.

(The statement of Senator Hruska referred to is as follows:)

JULY 10, 1957.

The disclosure that Jane Foster Zlatovski, recently indicted in New York as a Soviet spy, was issued a passport by the State Department 2 years ago, after its objections were deemed inadequate by Federal District Court Judge Burnita Matthews, points out the folly of the present campaign against security safeguards in our Government.

I have verified the story and it is a sound instance of the contention that the Secretary of State should have some discretion in denying a passport to a suspect without having to put all the evidence and information supporting his decisions into the public record.

In the case of Mrs. Zlatovski, the Secretary of State was forced to choose between producing his evidence or issuing a passport. He could not prejudice the security involved in the surveillance then going on and had no alternative but to grant the passport.

As a consequence a Communist suspect who has been indicted for espionage was able to move about in Europe for 2 additional years on an American passport and is now outside the jurisdiction of the United States. The passport of George Zlatovski was not renewed by the Department of State after 1954.

I hope that the French Government will extradite the Zlatovskis and that there will be an early trial so that the details of current Soviet espionage can be known to the American people.

Mr. MORRIS. And also, there has been one other development, Senator Hruska. I would like to introduce into the record at this point a clipping from the New York Times of July 7, 1957, stating:

The United States has ousted a member of the Communist Hungarian mission to the United Nations on grounds that he exceeded the limits of his diplomatic privileges in this country.

Senator HRUSKA. That will also be made a part of the record. (The clipping referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 482" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 482

[New York Times, July 7, 1957, p. 60]

UNITED STATES OUSTS HUNGARIAN

CHARGES MEMBER OF MISSION TO U. N. EXCEEDED PRIVILEGE

WASHINGTON, July 6 (AP).—The United States has ousted a member of the Communist Hungarian missions to the United Nations on grounds that he exceeded the limits of his diplomatic privileges in this country.

Officials said today that the diplomat, who left the country more than a week ago, was Pal Racz, Second Secretary of the Hungarian mission at United Nations headquarters in New York.

The State Department acted against the Hungarian on the reported charge that he was collecting information he had no right to collect.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bialer, will you come forward, please?

Senator, since Mr. Bialer's last appearance before this committee his English has improved considerably. Now, Prof. Jan Karski, who has interpreted for him in the past, is also present. I believe we can proceed without the assistance of Mr. Karski.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well, that will testify well for his doing his homework, I am sure.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, because of the time element involved here, I suggest that we take the witnesses who will testify and Mr. Karski and that we swear them now at the beginning.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ege and Mr. Klimov, will you gentlemen also come forward, please? Just come forward and be sworn.

Senator HRUSKA. The witnesses will raise their hands and be sworn.

Do you and each of you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BIALER. I do.

Mr. EGE. I do.

Mr. KLIMOV. I do.

Senator HRUSKA. I will also swear the interpreter.

(Thereupon, Mr. Jan Karski was duly sworn to act as interpreter by Senator Hruska.)

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Senator, Mr. Bialer in one way is a firsthand witness to these events. He has read the minutes of the July 1955 meeting at which he, according to his statements to us this morning, indicates this struggle began.

(The biographical material relating to Mr. Bialer, referred to here-

inafter, was marked "Exhibit No. 483" and is as follows:)

(EXHIBIT NO. 483, SEWERYN BIALER)

Native of Poland. Born November 3, 1926. In 1942 joined underground anti-Nazi Communist organization at Lodz. From July 1944 to May 1945, was inmate of Auschwitz and Friedland concentration camps.

After his release Bialer was employed, until 1951, in various political positions with the Polish militia and was chief of the Political Division of the Headquarters of the Polish Militia when he was assigned to the Polish Communist Party.

As an official of the Communist Party, Bialer was employed by the Central Committee as one of the chiefs of anti-Western and anti-American propaganda. In that work, he lectured for the Central Committee, was First Secretary to two important Communist schools, ideological adviser to the Peoples Tribune, a leading Communist paper; contributor to other newspapers; a professor of the Institute of Social Sciences at the Central Committee and researcher in the Institute of Economic Sciences of the Polish Academy of Science.

He carried on his propaganda work also by public lectures, by writing instructions to party workers and through conferences with persons from other Communist countries.

In the middle of January 1956, Bialer was sent to East Berlin as a member of the official Polish delegation. On January 31 he crossed the border into West Berlin and, May 4, 1956, came to the United States, where one of his first occupations was the preparation of a psychological warfare memorandum for the Free Europe Committee.

He testified first for the subcommittee on June 8, 1956.

**TESTIMONY OF SEWERYN BIALER, ACCCOMPANIED BY  
INTERPRETER**

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder, Mr. Bialer, if you will tell us when the struggle which was climaxed by the removal from power of Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich had its origin?

Mr. BIALER. I speak about the post-Stalin period, after Stalin's death: The struggle between Malenkov and Khrushchev began, really, in 1953, and in 1954 we can see clearly the struggle between the two men.

The struggle between Khrushchev and the Molotov group began in 1954, after the dismissal of Malenkov.

I will first speak about the struggle between Malenkov and Khrushchev.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I might point out that Mr. Bialer made a point that two issues are involved. One is the struggle by Khrushchev against Malenkov, and one is the struggle by Khrushchev against Molotov. There are two issues here, as I understand it.

Mr. BIALER. The struggle between Khrushchev and Malenkov at this time after Stalin's death concerned two problems. The first problem was the internal problem. The second, to us, was the foreign relations the Soviet Union had with the free world. In these two matters Malenkov had a different point of view than Khrushchev. When it concerned the inner-Soviet matters, Malenkov represented the State apparatus, represented the technicians groups, and Khrushchev represented the second apparatus of power in the Soviet Union, the party apparatus.

And the struggle between these two men is the struggle of the forms of organization in the Soviet Union. It was the struggle of the organization of the industry; it was a struggle about the problem of the agriculture policy.

Now, I think it's more important, the problem of the foreign policy. In the American newspaper I have not seen much written about this problem.

The problem is, I believe, that Malenkov has another conception of foreign policy than Khrushchev. The Malenkov policy, the conception of Malenkov's foreign policy was not a conception of a Soviet offensive against the free world.

We can see this on the one hand from what Malenkov did not say in his speech, and on the other, we can see this from what Malenkov has said in his speeches.

I can remember, for example, his explanation on the atomic war. He was the first man in the Soviet Union to have said that the atomic war can bring an end to the whole civilization.

Mr. MORRIS. This is Malenkov?

Mr. BIALER. This is Malenkov.

And Khrushchev denied this and said that the atomic war can bring on the end of the Western offensive, not the Communists'.

Malenkov had a real conception when we speak about foreign policy—had a conception of not offensive policy, a policy of rest. He must have time for inner-Soviet matters, and he wanted to ease the foreign relations with the free world.

This was the most important thing, I think, about the struggle between Khrushchev and Malenkov during this period.

Mr. MORRIS. So that Mr. Malenkov is the one who represented moderation?

Mr. BIALER. I think so.

Mr. MORRIS. Practically speaking, anyway.

Mr. BIALER. I can give you one example.

In 1955, in February, when Malenkov was dismissed from the post of Prime Minister, there was a secret letter from the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party in which it was explained why Malenkov must be dismissed. It was not the official reason that was in the newspapers, that is, Pravda, and others. It was an explanation that Malenkov's policy could bring difficulties with the satellite countries.

And I wish to remind you at this same time when Malenkov was dismissed, Imre Nagy was dismissed also by Rakosi in Hungary. It was not accidental. In many problems in internal policy, Malenkov agreed with Nagy's views.

In the fight between Khrushchev and Malenkov, Molotov was on the side of Khrushchev. It was an alliance between Molotov and Khrushchev.

Mr. MORRIS. May I just ask, so this is clear, Mr. Bialer? You have now told us that Malenkov and Khrushchev had differences in the days when you used to read about them in the meetings, and Malenkov represented moderation?

Mr. BIALER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, at the same time there has been another struggle. You are saying at this point that Molotov in this struggle sided with Khrushchev?

Mr. BIALER. You see, Khrushchev has this same tactic as Stalin; he didn't fight with two groups at the same time. When he fought with Malenkov in 1954 and the beginning of 1955, he didn't fight with Molotov. Molotov was in this time his ally.

And we can ask the question why Molotov was allied with Khrushchev at this time. The explanation is: because Molotov is at all times a Stalinist, a very conservative Stalinist, and the Khrushchev policy was, for him, moderate, but much more Stalinist than the policies of Malenkov. The policies of Malenkov were for him more alien [objectionable] than the policies of Khrushchev. And from this point of view, Khrushchev and Molotov can at this time go together.

And Molotov fought with Malenkov. You can read his speech in the February session of the Supreme Soviet, where he denounced Malenkov's policy, and he fought with Malenkov.

But 3 weeks later, after the dismissal of Malenkov, the fight between Khrushchev and Molotov began. Khrushchev didn't need Molotov to fight against Malenkov because Malenkov is dismissed. And the fight with Molotov began in a session of the Soviet Politburo, in—I think it was the second half of March of 1955—when Khrushchev was talking about Tito, about the relations with Yugoslavia and about Austria, and Molotov was in opposition to Khrushchev's point of view. He didn't want agreement with Tito and he didn't want a treaty with Austria.

The fight lasted through July 1955. In July 1955 there was a meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Part of this meeting was published in the papers. The second half was secret.

Mr. MORRIS. You have read it, have you?

Mr. BIALER. I read the whole minutes of it.

Mr. MORRIS. The importance of Mr. Bialer's appearance here—he was privy to these secrets because he was an official of the Communist Party in Poland, and he read those minutes which we do not know about.

Mr. BIALER. In July 1955, when this meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union took place, it was the end of one section of the struggle between Molotov and Khrushchev. Two resolutions were brought to the session. One resolution was by Molotov. It was a resolution against agreement with Tito, against softening the policy. The second was by Khrushchev. And Molotov was, at this session of the central committee, completely defeated. His resolution had not one vote in the central committee.

And then he remained alone against the Khrushchev resolutions. And the end of this meeting, Khrushchev, with very strong words, spoke against Molotov.

Mr. MORRIS. What did he say?

Mr. BIALER. I must remember exactly the words, they were very strong words. They were words to the effect that if he will go forward with his policy, with his thinking, it will bring a bad end to him.

Mr. MORRIS. This is July 1955?

Mr. BIALER. This was July 1955. He spoke about his [Molotov's] wife, I remember, that his wife exercised a very big influence on him and this will have a bad ending if he will not change.

Senator HRUSKA. Whose wife was he talking about?

Mr. BIALER. Molotov's wife.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, what particular meaning—

Mr. BIALER. I can remember what we are told in the central committee of the Polish Communist Party. We have seen from these

words that this is not only political struggle, this is also a personal struggle. We see that there are personal differences, personal enmities, between Molotov and Khrushchev. And his words about Molotov's wife was "his evil spirit, she exercises an evil power." I remember the words: "It's not necessary for him," said Khrushchev to Molotov—"it's not necessary for him to go to hang at her apron strings."

Mr. MORRIS. Molotov's wife was not just a housewife, she was an important Communist official?

Mr. BIALER. I think so.

When I was here 1 year ago, I spoke about this, that I think that the end of Molotov, of political power of Molotov, was coming not in 1956 when he was dismissed from the office of the Foreign Minister, but in July 1955 when he was isolated in the central committee of the party and had not one vote.

And we can ask a question. The question is: What happened between July 1955 and July 1956?

In July 1956, Molotov was dismissed from the office of Foreign Minister. And what happened between this time and the time 3 months later, in September 1956, when Molotov—we can see—had risen to power. When he went with Khrushchev and Mikoyan and Bulganin to Poland to exercise influence on the Polish central committee not to choose Gomulka for its secretary.

What happened between this time and months ago when, we know now, that in the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party, Molotov has strengths so he can fight with Khrushchev?

One thing happened during this time. There was the Poznan uprising, the Hungarian revolution, the bloodless revolution in Poland, the confusion of the Communist movement abroad.

And this problem was to bring back Molotov power; bring back to him his followers in the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, these were all setbacks for the Khrushchev policy and Molotov gained some stature?

Mr. BIALER. Yes. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what about the Kaganovich purge? How does he fit in?

Mr. BIALER. What?

Mr. MORRIS. What about the Kaganovich purge?

Mr. BIALER. I think we can manage to get Kaganovich and Molotov in one bundle, in one group.

But we must ask another question. How is it that Molotov fought against Malenkov in 1954, 1955? Molotov was at all times Stalinist, very conservative Stalinist, as was Kaganovich.

And Malenkov from the years 1953, 1954, after Stalin's death, was the follower of a more moderate policy than Khrushchev was in foreign relations.

How can this be, that Molotov and Kaganovich and Malenkov are now in one group against Khrushchev?

I think that this is the same kind of tactical alliance as in 1954. In 1954 Khrushchev and Molotov differed in many ways, but Khrushchev and Molotov, independent of the differences between them, were both against Malenkov. And they fought Malenkov.

We see in 1957 that Malenkov, although in disagreement with Molotov and Kaganovich on many issues, has a tactical alliance with them and they fought together against Khrushchev now.

The easiest targets for Khrushchev are Molotov and Kaganovich. Kaganovich and Molotov were at all times Stalinist, and Stalinism is unpopular in Russia, and it's very unpopular in the foreign Communist countries. Khrushchev did not fear Molotov and Kaganovich so much as he feared Malenkov.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, the issue here, in your opinion, the heart of the issue is that the relative moderation that Malenkov represented was feared by Khrushchev, and that Khrushchev made this move against Malenkov and covered it by purging at the same time two unpopular figures, Molotov and Kaganovich?

Mr. BIALER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Just briefly, what does this portend for the future?

Mr. BIALER. I don't think there will be big changes in Soviet foreign policy or Soviet internal policy. You see, Khrushchev was in power all the time from 1954, 1955, 1956, and he exercised his policy, his line, and he now has a free hand. He can exercise his policy now with more stability, with more power. But I don't think this will bring changes, because the policy throughout this time was Khrushchev's policy. There was only a short interval in his power. It was in 1956 when Molotov and Kaganovich had more to say, had more influence.

But I don't think there will be big changes. There may be tactical changes in Soviet policy now. There may be such changes, as Khrushchev needs time now to strengthen his power, to stabilize his power. He can go one step further with his same old policy. I don't think we can expect big changes in the Soviet policy.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, in that regard, were there any big differences between Malenkov and Khrushchev on the approach to disarmament?

Mr. BIALER. I think that Khrushchev represents a very offensive foreign policy. There is a big difference between his policy and the offensive policy of Stalin. Stalin's offensive policy was a policy of a many-front offensive including the war in Korea and the war in Vietnam. It was a policy, an offensive policy, with military means, with state means, and Government means.

When we speak about Khrushchev, I think his policy is an offensive policy. The main means, the most important means of his policy are the means of politics, the means of diplomacy, the means of diversion, of intrigue, and so on.

And I think it is true when he says that he is not a Stalinist, he's a Leninist. I will explain this. He is a Stalinist in the tactics of his fight.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Malenkov?

Mr. BIALER. When we speak about Malenkov, Malenkov was, in the first place, interested in the internal Soviet problems, and from the foreign relations he wanted rest, he wanted relaxation. He wanted to have possibilities to carry on his internal policy. In foreign relations, I think he was the only man in the Soviet Politburo that really wanted coexistence—I can't say forever—coexistence for a time, for 5 years, maybe for 10 years, for a time, to have time to carry out his internal policy.

Senator HRUSKA. And would he want disarmament for that same reason, any kind of disarmament agreement for that same reason?

Mr. BIALER. I cannot say how far he would go in disarmament problems. I am sure he would go much farther than Khrushchev would go.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, because of the element of time—I mean this is all very interesting and important—I ask that Mr. Bialer be excused at this time. Maybe we can have a further session later on.

Will you stand by, Mr. Bialer?

Mr. BIALER. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I would like at this point to put in the record the Daily Worker of Tuesday, July 9, which endorses all these recent changes. I would like that to go in the record.

Senator HRUSKA. It will be accepted and placed in the record at this point.

(The article from the Daily Worker referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 484," and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 484

[Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, July 9, 1957, p. 5]

#### SOVIET EVENTS AND COEXISTENCE

Whatever their many secondary elements, the central feature of the recent historic Soviet events is that they strengthen the tide to peaceful coexistence and a durable peace.

That is its supreme importance to the American people and the peoples of the world. No State Department speculation or malicious New York Times editorials can obscure that cardinal point.

Prime Minister Nehru, of India, spoke for the overwhelming majority of mankind when he said Thursday that the recent events would strengthen peaceful relations between the U. S. S. R. and other countries and thus the cause of world peace. He termed this "the psychological moment" for easing East-West tensions and for new progress in the current London disarmament talks.

On the basis of the material before us, it is apparent that the recent events were a culmination of a series of sharp policy debates over questions of internal Soviet policy and foreign affairs. In essence these questions were not new. In their main outline they had been debated during the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. What the recent meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU did was to reaffirm these policies in the sharpest way, take decisive steps against those who were resisting these policies by factional means and were, in fact, seeking to overturn the Congress decisions by a coup among the members of the CPSU Presidium.

The chief policy elements of the 20th Congress were the emphasis on the possibility of peaceful coexistence and the rejection of the theory of the inevitability of war; the various roads to socialism; the possibility of the transition to socialism by parliamentary means in various countries; the emphasis on the equality of socialist nations, the post-Stalin policy of internal democratization and internal reorganization based on the tremendous growth of the socialist economy.

The decisions of the 20th Congress were widely hailed, particularly among the socialist-minded and peace-loving peoples of the world. These decisions registered a new stage in the growth of socialism and the system of socialist states; and they further speeded the developments toward peaceful coexistence.

But it is now clear that there was considerable resistance to the application of these decisions. There were those, headed apparently by V. M. Molotov, who wanted to "tighten the screws" and thus objectively hampered the full unfolding of policies to strengthen peace. Clearly, this group also demanded policies which would have maintained old and harmful relations between the U. S. S. R. and Yugoslavia, for example.

The prompt manner in which the recent decisions were greeted in China, Poland, and Yugoslavia is some indication of the sensitivity of these peoples to the harmful policies of Molotov and his associates. This feeling was also re-

flected by Italian Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti when he wrote in *L'Unita* July 7 that the CPSU shakeup "has knocked down the barriers \* \* \* to the search for original roads to socialism," that it was a move furthering "a policy of relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence" and that the reorganization "gave a serious blow to the forces of conservatism and dogmatism."

To American Marxists the theory of various roads to socialism is not a new one. Premised on the principles of scientific socialism, the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and the experience of American labor, there has evolved the concept of the American road to socialism, based on the struggles of the American working class and its allies within the traditions, customs, and peculiarities of the American scene. This concept is now incorporated in the preamble to the Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States, as adopted by its 16th national convention.

We who fight for peace, democracy, and socialism in our own land can only view most sympathetically all those developments in the first land of socialism which strengthen the fight for peace and social progress. We view with the warmest sympathy the efforts of Soviet Communists to maintain inviolable the unity of the party which leads the 200 million Soviet peoples. We view with satisfaction—as undoubtedly do many other Americans who do not share our outlook—the rebuffing of a faction which opposed the steps to a new Geneva, to improved relations with all nations, to heighten the living standards and democratic rights of the Soviet peoples.

From all accounts the issues were debated vigorously for a week at a full meeting of the Central Committee (about 200 were present) with all points of view presented. This was a departure from certain of the condemned practices of the latter years of the Stalin leadership, which frequently bypassed the CPSU's elected bodies. The meeting took the decisive steps already noted. It may be suggested, however, that matters might not have even come to this pass had a wide public discussion preceded the meeting, for the Soviet Communist Party membership and the Soviet people undoubtedly support wholeheartedly the policies of peaceful coexistence, democratization, and the raising of living standards. The process of democratization requires such public debate: the process of correction of the abuses of Soviet democracy will undoubtedly provide new forums for such public discussion.

But this is distinctly subordinate to the historic events themselves—events which will help shape a peaceful world.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly given earnest of its profound desire for peace. As last week's events demonstrate dramatically it pursues firmly policies of peaceful coexistence, is seeking continuously to raise the standards of its own people and compete with other social systems not by war but in ideas, culture, and economic progress.

We Americans have a responsibility in this situation. In Nehru's phrase we have reached the "psychological moment" for a great new initiative for peace.

Is it not time for the American people to act politically against the belligerent policies of Dulles, Radford, and Knowland? Is it not high time for the people in increasing number to renew the demand for an end to A-bomb tests poisoning the world's atmosphere? Is it not time for the whole trade union movement to follow the example of labor leaders Walter Reuther, James Carey, and Joseph Beirne who recently joined 80 other noted Americans in demanding an end to the poison tests? And is it not necessary to equip our delegates in London with a firm popular mandate to proceed to a mutually acceptable disarmament agreement?

Many, many more things might—and will—be said about the recent Soviet events, but these, it strikes us, are the crucial ones today.

**Mr. MORRIS.** Mr. Ege, will you come forward, please?

Senator, in connection with Mr. Ege's testimony, I would like to offer for the record the statement that he gave in May of 1956 before the House Un-American Activities Committee. And you remember, Senator, it was written in May of 1956. Mr. Ege said:

It is also possible that, in the future, G. Malenkov, A. Mikoyan, and L. Kaganovich will be removed by Khrushchev as Stalin's accomplices. The field will then be left to Khrushchev, Voroshiloff, Zhukov, and Molotov, all of whom are Russians by national origin. The reason behind this thinking is that Malenkov and Mikoyan are, historically speaking, more responsible for Stalin's crimes than Khrushchev himself.

Now, on the basis of his forecasts at that time, we thought it would be important to have Mr. Ege here to give us his interpretation of these recent changes.

Senator HRUSKA. Will you proceed, please?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I am sorry to break in again, but we have here a short biographical sketch of the witnesses this morning. Maybe we should insert these in the record preceding each witness' testimony.

Senator HRUSKA. They will go in the record at an appropriate place preceding their respective testimony.

(The biographical sketch of Mr. Ege was marked "Exhibit No. 485" and is as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT NO. 485

##### BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Ismail Ege, born in city of Orak in Ural district of Soviet Union. Name at birth was Ismail Gusseynovich Akhmedov, assumed name of Ege when came to the United States. Entered Red army in 1925, when he was sent by the central committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party to Leningrad to enter Leningrad School of Military Communications. In 1929 graduated with rank of lieutenant and appointed to field services in Caucasia—the Caucasian Red Banners Army—as an officer in 11th Radio Battalion. After few months was selected for intelligence service of Caucasian Army because of knowledge of Turkish, and some German. In September 1940, after graduating from war college of general staff of Red army, was appointed to intelligence department of Red army. At first was deputy chief for one of agents operations sections of intelligence department charged with getting data on technical devices of military significance in foreign armies, later became chief of section. In May 1941 was sent to Germany on intelligence mission under cover as vice president of Tass Bureau in Berlin, using false name and biographical information. War began in latter part of June 1941, and he was arrested by Gestapo and put in concentration camp for about a month. Ege was then returned to Soviet officials in prisoner exchange. He was appointed press attaché of Soviet Embassy in Turkey, where his duties were to renew agent operations against Germany. On June 3, 1942, defected from Soviet Union while serving in Istanbul.

#### TESTIMONY OF ISMAIL EGE

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what is the meaning of these changes, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. Mr. Chairman, the latest changes in Moscow did not surprise me at all. It had to happen.

For the meaning of the late shakeup in the Kremlin, it is my personal opinion that the words I have written in the article for the Un-American Activities Committee of the Congress still stand today.

I have a few additions to this article under present conditions.

I think that the present shakeup in the Presidium of the Communist Party, Soviet Union, which removed Kaganovich and Molotov and some others, like Shepilov and Pirov, and maybe some others, was a culmination of this strife within the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

Further, I think that this trouble within the ruling clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is, primarily, a struggle on political issues. It does not mean that there was no struggle between personalities. But I think this was a struggle on political issues mainly.

I will not speak too much about personalities except Molotov.

I left the Soviet Union in 1941, when I was on the Army General Staff. I knew Molotov, Mikoyan, and Zarubin as the men who engi-

neered Soviet aggression and Stalin's policies. That's the reason why I wrote in my previous article that Mikoyan may be expected to be removed. Obviously, Mikoyan was more shrewd and quickly shifted sides. But this does not grant that at some future time, Mikoyan and even Voroshiloff will not be removed from their present posts.

More than that, I do not think that this struggle within the Communist Party of Soviet Union is ended now. It has to be expected that the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government would remove shortly from their party and government posts party functionists and government officials of the lower echelons. And it might be that no changes would go down as far as Ambassador.

Mr. MORRIS. Ambassador and what?

Mr. EGE. To remove from Ambassador posts outside the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Ambassador Zarubin here in Washington? He was supposed to be closely associated with Stalin, was he not?

Mr. EGE. I do not know personally, but according to my past experience, Zarubin was associated with the policy of Stalin in older days, and especially when Agradoff, who is the Soviet Ambassador to Paris, was, with Zarubin and Beria, supporting Molotov in foreign policy.

When the Red Army entered the Soviet Union apparatus during the war, operating in Turkey and from other NATO countries, in order to defeat the Germans, Molotov always insisted that all these operations had to be directly reported, not to the central department of the Soviet Union, but to Malenkov and Molotov. He tried everything to shift this interest of military interests into political channels.

So I do think that, this struggle being not finished, they are going to remove these persons too.

Mr. MORRIS. Now in the case of Mr. Zarubin, if you think he is going to be removed from this post of Ambassador here and recalled—is that what, in effect, you are saying—would it serve any purpose, do you think, to offer him asylum before he is sent back?

Mr. EGE. I think so. Not only Zarubin. I think that if, in the lower echelons of the Soviet Government and the party stationed abroad, there are some persons who are connected with the policies of Stalin, and if they think that they were right and Khrushchev not right, why not invite the rest of them to the West and affect public opinion on the issue and prove that Khrushchev is not right—that they were right?

Mr. MORRIS. So you think the Americans should accept such a recommendation?

Mr. EGE. I don't know whether it is proper for agencies or Government officials of the United States to invite Zarubin to come to this side, but he personally, if he is going to be removed and called home, would do best if he'll stay here and put the issues before world opinion in order to show what happened really in the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. And, also, we could learn from men like that many of the details of Soviet espionage against the United States, which is of interest to the subcommittee?

Mr. EGE. Quite right.

Further, in connection with this shakeup, in the Western press there were many articles which mostly are wishful and speculating. And

some people think that this shakeup in the Kremlin is a sign of weakness of the Soviet Union.

I do not agree personally with that kind of speculation. It would be an unpermissible luxury for the Government of the Soviet Union and for the president of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at times of weakness and emergency to remove such persons as Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov.

On the contrary, it shows that the Soviet Union now, on all available data in the press, especially in the Soviet press, is politically, economically, and militarily, very strong.

Now, for the West, of fundamental importance is the fact that in connection with this shakeup the structure of Soviet power has not changed radically. It is still Soviet power; it is still despotism. Only the strategy of the Communist Party is changed.

Instead of immediate war, I do think that the Soviets under Khrushchev, now don't want war, but they are going to compete in the economic and political fronts with the West. And that will be a difficult fight, and the West must not forget about this side of the struggle.

The will to make good the world goal of international communism, has not changed. And, as you remember, Khrushchev, when he appeared on television before the American Nation, said that goal is the same goal. And he went further. He said that many generations of Americans will become citizens of Socialist countries. That means that they did not change goals.

I hope that generations of Soviet countries will become citizens of democratic countries. But the West, especially United States of America, must remain vigilant and watchful.

And finally, I think it is appropriate to mention here, that one of the reasons of this shakeup in the Kremlin was due to firm American policy.

The United States of America, under the present administration, did everything in order to defend the freedoms, to organize NATO, SEATO, and to help other countries against Communist aggression.

And for the Soviets, it is realistically hard to evaluate all of this. They were forced to face this, and perhaps for a time to relax their policy in the direction of liberalization or relaxation of the international issues. But that does not mean that they will go forever on this issue.

And summing up this shakeup, I would like to characterize it as really a parasite movement, because Khruschev was quick enough to put himself at the head of a movement which, at least in the minor issues, is better than that of persons supporting Molotov and Kaganovich.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, to that extent do you think he played the role of opportunist?

Mr. EGE. Quite possible.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you think that that was more than he could handle so he ran ahead of the crowd?

Mr. EGE. That's right.

On the other hand, I don't think Khrushchev in person will make a second Stalin. The history of mankind shows that all dictatorships die or wither or reform with the death of dictators. I do think that the Soviet Union is not an exception to this rule of history.

When Stalin died, Stalin's dictatorship was going to reform itself. The Soviet Government did not change radically, but there are some things which are very interesting. There are even remarkable things.

There was a book recently written in the Soviet Union which is called Not By Bread Alone. The title, as you see, is taken from the Bible. In Stalin's time, just for that type of title, a man would be sent to a concentration camp or just liquidated.

And this book talks openly about "drastovs"—Communist bureaucrats—and calls for something new.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Ege, last year you reported to the House Un-American Activities Committee that it is possible that in the future Malenkov and Mikoyan and Kaganovich would be removed.

Mr. EGE. Right.

Senator HRUSKA. You did not include Molotov in that.

Now, the fact that he was excluded, does that have any special meaning?

Mr. EGE. No. When I included, instead of Molotov, Mikoyan, I was thinking in the terms of my background experience in Soviet infiltration, subversion, and political operations. Mikoyan was helping Stalin in the same degree as Molotov. And the Office of Foreign Trade Commissariat or Foreign Trade Ministry, was one of the posts of Mikoyan. And Mikoyan did his best to help the Soviet, and his officers to get into this office, to be dispatched overseas, and, under the cover of the Foreign Trade Ministry, to continue on subversion, espionage, and infiltration. And Mikoyan was known for a long time as a personal friend of Stalin.

So I had—at least it seemed to me—reason to think that Mikoyan would be removed.

But Mikoyan is of Oriental origin. He is an Armenian. Perhaps he was more shrewd and, in time, quickly shifted sides. And, instead, Molotov was removed.

That does not guarantee, of course, that Mikoyan will stay forever.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Ege. We appreciate your testimony.

Mr. EGE. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, at this point may I have inserted in the record the statement of Yuri Rastvorov as sworn testimony on his part? He had previously been sworn.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well, it will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The biographical sketch of Yuri Rastvorov is as follows:)

#### YURI RASTVOROV

Began career as officer of the Soviet Intelligence Service, MVD, in 1940 with entry into Japanese department of the Moscow Institute of Eastern Studies. Study of Japanese language interrupted by outbreak of war between Germany and Soviet Union in June 1941. Rastvorov, together with all other students in Japanese department of Institute of Eastern Studies in Moscow, was ordered to proceed to Soviet Far East to be employed as interpreter, and as an officer of the psychological warfare service in the special Far East Red army. Soon after Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he was transferred from Mongolia to Fergana, the location to which the Institute of Eastern Studies has been evacuated from Moscow. In 1943 was recalled from the Institute and assigned to Japanese department of the Intelligence Directorate of Soviet Ministry of State Security. In January 1946, after appropriate intelligence operational training,

he was sent to Tokyo under the guise of a representative of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Defected from Soviet Union in Tokyo in January 1954.

(His replies to questions by Counsel Morris, as previously recorded, are as follows:)

Mr. MORRIS. Do the recent changes in Moscow indicate any future change in Soviet foreign policy?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No. Internal struggles in the Communist heirarchy are a natural part of dictatorship, which bears within itself the seeds of such struggles in their most ruthless form. If we look back, we see that this is just another example of such a struggle, of which there have been many before. Regardless of internal turmoil, the basic tenets of communism hold, and we can expect more such struggles, without any really basic change in domestic or foreign policy. It would be dangerous for the Western World to lower its guard, hoping that new faces in Moscow mean new policies abroad.

Mr. MORRIS. What do you know about the so-called Leningrad affair?

Mr. RASTVOROV. In 1948 or 1949 a number of the party leaders in the Leningrad area simply disappeared. The rubberstamp explanation was that they were "enemies of the people." People in the Soviet Union have been disappearing without a trace for years, and the leaders have never given adequate reasons to the Russian people. Officially, this case was never explained either.

I was told, however, that they were removed because of antiparty tendencies, having tried to form an anti-Moscow faction. The story was that they had kept themselves in power by unlawful means. The excuse for final direct action was an election, in which they reported to the Central Committee that they had been reelected unanimously, but a number of people reported to the committee that they had voted against them.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Klimov.

(Following is a biographical sketch on Mr. Klimov:)

Grigoriy Petrovich Klimov, born September 26, 1918, in Novochorkassk in northern Caucasus. From 1926 to 1936 studied in 10-year school from which he was graduated. From 1936 to 1941 studied in Industrial Institute of Ordzhonikidze, graduating in 1941 with a diploma in electrical engineering. From 1941 to 1943 worked as engineer-constructor in plant No. 545 in Gor'kly. In 1943 mobilized in Red army and fought in Leningrad sector of front, where he was wounded. Upon leaving hospital sent to Special Reserve Officer Regiment No. 96 (OPROS 96). In summer of 1944 assigned to Red Army Military Institute of Foreign Languages, where he was admitted to the last grade of the German faculty because of his knowledge of German. On graduation from the institute in June 1945 was sent to main headquarters of Soviet occupation troops in Germany, SVAG in Berlin-Karlhorst. From June 1945 to February 1946 was economic adviser of General Shabalov, chief of economic administration in SVAG. Following reorganization of the economic administration in February 1946, was transferred to the industrial administration of SVAG, headed by A. Alekzandrov, where he was chief engineer for electrical industry until February 1947. Was demobilized and sent back to Ministry of Electrical Industry in Moscow because he was not a member of the Communist Party, thus was deemed politically unreliable. In February 1947 crossed border into American Zone of Germany where, after being checked, he was granted political asylum. Became writer and journalist. In 1952 started publishing magazine Svoboda (Freedom) in Germany in cooperation with a group of postwar emigres from U. S. S. R. In 1952 organized Central Union of Postwar Emigres from the U. S. S. R., carrying on active anti-Communist propaganda work beyond Iron Curtain.

### TESTIMONY OF GRIGORIY PETROVICH KLIMOV

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Klimov, you have been a military man, have you not?

Mr. KLIMOV. I was Chief Engineer in the Soviet Military Administration, Civilian Personnel.

Mr. MORRIS. And as such were you able to know something about Mr. Zhukov and Mr. Bulganin?

Mr. KLIMOV. I know, in some way, only Zhukov. Or it would be better if I said I was a good friend of him. It is impossible to know his thoughts and his policies. He was just Military Governor at that time, and I was engineer at the headquarters.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what do you think is the meaning of the apparently stronger position of Bulganin and Zhukov? What does that mean to you, Mr. Klimov, knowing as you do Mr. Zhukov? Did you know Mr. Bulganin at all?

Mr. KLIMOV. No; I didn't.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, on the basis of your knowledge of them, what does that mean to you?

Mr. KLIMOV. I am sorry, but I wouldn't agree with the previous witness.

For me, the importance of recent changes in the Kremlin is only one point. That's the consolidation of power in one person. We could think maybe Malenkov is better and Khrushchev is worse; this person is maybe better; the other is worse, and the policy of one will be different than the other in some way.

I think that it depends not on personalities, the Soviet policy, internal and external; it depends not on personalities. It depends on the system itself.

The so-called liberalization of the Soviet system now is only the result of the process—we can't call this process—collective dictatorship. That's the process of stabilization and concentration of power in one hand.

As soon as this power is concentrated in one hand, will it be Khrushchev, as it is now, or maybe somebody else?

The Soviet policy will be exactly the same as it was under Stalin.

I think that all these persons or personalities—they are, we can say, slaves of the Soviet system, which implies its own laws and restrictions.

Mr. Chairman, if you would be in Khrushchev's place—I am sure you have wonderful moral characteristics. You are a Democrat. But if you would sit in the chair of Mr. Khrushchev, you would have to do exactly the same what Khrushchev is doing. It is the person making the policy there, but the system which imposes its own strict rules—the strategic ideology and the strategic system.

Sometimes we guess here, I think, that the Soviet system could change according to some changes in their leadership. I think there will be no changes.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, now, would you say that there will be no change, not, of course, in their goals or their objectives, but might there not be some change in some of the means by which they currently move toward those objectives, whether it is in foreign policy or whether it is in internal policy?

Mr. KLIMOV. I think it will be exactly the same as soon as the power is concentrated in one hand. The years after the death of Stalin represent only the process of concentration of power. We have Malenkov. After that we have Khrushchev and the recent changes. All this process is only concentration of dictatorship.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, Mr. Klimov, we heard a great deal recently that after the death of Stalin the West could take new hope in the fact that the Soviet had not a one-man dictatorship but a collective dictatorship.

Mr. KLIMOV. Yes. And now there is more power in the hands of Khrushchev than before. He ousted his competitors, and now he's a more personal dictator than before.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you think that this is the end of the collective dictatorship and it will go back to one-man dictatorship?

Mr. KLIMOV. Now we're nearer to the personal dictatorship than before.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you will tell us about the military here, because you are a military man. What is the relative role of Zhukov and Bulganin now?

Mr. KLIMOV. Now Zhukov is the second man after Khrushchev.

Mr. MORRIS. And Bulganin?

Mr. KLIMOV. Bulganin, he is a lieutenant. But I don't think Bulganin has ambitions to be the first man. And perhaps Zhukov doesn't have such ambitions either.

Mr. MORRIS. What kind of a man is Zhukov? You said you knew Zhukov, you worked under him. What kind of a man is he? Can you tell us anything about him?

Mr. KLIMOV. I don't know him so well that I could tell about his political opinions.

Mr. MORRIS. You what?

Mr. KLIMOV. I don't know Zhukov so well that I could know his political opinions.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what do you think these changes portend in the future?

Mr. KLIMOV. The chief meaning of this change is that Khrushchev is now, we can say, more established as a personal dictator, and he will feel himself much more sure than before.

Before the changes, there were differences in opinions between these two groups, and now the power is more consolidated and the Presidium of the party is more united behind Khrushchev. Therefore, the power of Khrushchev will be more assured than before.

Senator HRUSKA. Anything further, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I have nothing further, Senator, unless you think that we should ask Mr. Bialer, who had not finished, a few more questions.

Senator HRUSKA. If you have any further questions to ask of him, we can recall him.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Klimov.

Senator HRUSKA. Thank you for appearing.

#### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF SEWERYN BIALER, ACCCOMPANIED BY INTERPRETER JAN KARSKI

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bialer, there is one other thing we would like to cover with you.

Do you think that, as Mr. Ege estimated, the people who had been close to Stalin will in the future be eliminated; that is, eliminated from power?

Now, may I just ask you one thing. What do you think will happen to Malenkov? Malenkov was a technician, was he not, and he had many technicians following him?

Mr. BIALER. Malenkov was not a technician. He was a party man. He was a secretary of the party. But his policy, his political concep-

tion, was blended with the technicians groups, the bureaucratic groups in Russia.

Senator HRUSKA. But he himself was not a technician?

Mr. BIALER. No; he was a party man. He was a professional party man, we can see.

Senator HRUSKA. What is there in store for him in the future? What will happen to him?

Mr. BIALER. It's very—it's not easy to tell what will happen. From my point of view, I agree fully with Mr. Ege. I don't think it will be in the future, in the immediate future. For one thing, I don't think there will be purges in 1957, where a thousand men are destroyed or liquidated.

I think that Khrushchev don't want such kind of purges. He don't want them, first from the point of the relations with the other Communist countries. He don't want it from the point of internal relations of the Soviet people. He himself denounced Stalin's crimes, and, in such a short time after he denounced them at the party conference, he cannot alone be responsible for such crimes.

From this point of view, he will want the present purge to go in other ways than the Stalin purge. He will not want the people to think that what he does now is the same thing that Stalin had done with Bukharin.

From this point of view, Khrushchev may be forced to order a purge in 1957. He may be forced if the people he dismissed fight against him. I think that if he is not forced, he will not liquidate Malenkov, he will not liquidate Molotov, and he will not liquidate Kaganovich.

He will liquidate Molotov as a political leader, as a political man. He will not liquidate him as a human being.

I agree with Mr. Ege on another point. I think that now we are coming to this same kind of a purge against the lower echelon. The low men, like Molotov and Kaganovich, men from the lower echelons, will be removed from their posts, but without liquidations. We cannot tell now about these conceptions of Khrushchev. He will be lucky in this respect: he will know how to do it.

Maybe he will be forced, but I think that he don't want to be forced to liquidate these people.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you think the popular feeling in the country is supporting Khrushchev now in his present position?

Mr. BIALER. I think here are really 2 questions in this 1 question of yours. The people in Russia, I think, fear a new Stalin. They fear that Khrushchev will be a new Stalin, that the Soviet will return to the old years of Stalinist terror. And, from this point of view, I don't think that the people in Russia are very happy with what has happened. And I think that the people in Russia are afraid. They don't know whether to be happy or not to be happy.

From the other point of view, when we speak about the satellite countries—I know better the people in satellite countries. For example, in Poland. I think in Poland, for example, the people are happy about certain things, because Molotov was a strong man in the old Politburo and he was strongly opposed to the bloodless revolution in Poland. From this point of view, the old followers of the old Stalinist policy in the Polish party, for example—yes, all Stalin's followers—

The INTERPRETER. They are weakened completely in Poland.

Mr. BIALER. And Gomulka can fight against Stalinists in Poland—

The INTERPRETER. Gomulka will have an argument in Poland that what he is doing in Poland is the same that Khrushchev did in the Soviet Union.

Mr. BIALER. From this point of view, his position will be strengthened and his position will be more stabilized than before.

Senator HRUSKA. What about the relations with Tito?

Mr. BIALER. I think what I say about Gomulka, is the same with Tito.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is this the end of the so-called collective dictatorship?

Mr. BIALER. It's not easy to tell. I don't think that Khrushchev, up to now, has such a power as Stalin had. Stalin was independent of anybody. He was really independent. And one thing more. Stalin had his secret police, and we can see now the power of the secret police is less. The secret police was liquidated as a political power in the Soviet Union. This is political power in the Soviet Union now, not police power. From this point of view, I don't think Khrushchev now is in such a position as was Stalin in his dictatorship. But Khrushchev is going up; his power is going up. The direction of the development is in such direction that his power is going up. He has, every month, in his hands more power.

I don't think that we have now a 1-leader dictatorship such as in Stalin's time. We have not now such a collective leadership as we had 2 years ago. We have a transitional period now, and we cannot tell what will come out of the transitional period. It depends on circumstances.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, you spoke about the satellites. Would you have any comments on the current visit in Czechoslovakia? What meaning has that? There seem to have been certain leaders at the airport to greet the Soviet visitors. Certain others were not there. And there was some talk about a turnover in the leadership.

Mr. BIALER. I want to give one example from my point of view. This is a very interesting example about Rumania.

Mr. MORRIS. What about?

Mr. BIALER. Rumania. You see, all the leaders—the first secretaries of the party, in Rumania, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia—are all Stalinist men. They moved to Rumania, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia 10 years ago, and they rule now. They have organized the purges, Stalinist purges, in 1952, 1951, against Slansky in Czechoslovakia, for example. And in Rumania there was recently a very interesting development. I think it is very characteristic for the three countries, for Rumania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany. The first secretary of the party, George Dej, removed from the Politburo two members, Kishiniewski, and I have forgotten the second name.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that?

Mr. BIALER. Kishiniewski.

The INTERPRETER. K-i-s-h-i-n-i-e-w-s-k-i.

Mr. BIALER. Constantinescu was the first. And they denounced Ana Pauker, the woman who was a member of the Politburo in 1953, declaring that she organized purges in 1951 and 1952; that she wanted

power for herself. And what is the meaning of this? Ana Pauker died, I think. Or Ana Pauker was removed from her post when Stalin was alive in 1952. And George Dej, he was first secretary of the Rumanian party. He wants to put the blame for the whole Stalinist problem on the woman whom he'd dismissed from the party when Stalin was alive. He want—George Dej—

The INTERPRETER. George Dej wants to defend himself in such a way as to put the blame on somebody who is no more alive; on a dead woman.

Mr. BIALER. George Dej understands that, after Molotov's and Kaganovich's dismissal in Moscow, he must do something. He must have all Stalinists removed, because, if he don't remove them, it will be held against him since his is also a Stalinist. And I think this is the tactic of the Rumanian, East German, Czechoslovakian parties; to put the blame on little men, to put the blame on men who were long ago removed and thus to defend themselves from such new purges as in Russia, against Molotov and Kaganovich.

Mr. MORRIS. And that situation prevails, too, in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. BIALER. In Czechoslovakia, we don't see new movements now. But I think that what was in Rumania will be typical for East Germany and for Czechoslovakia.

Senator HRUSKA. Is that all, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Ege, would you have any further comments? We kind of cut you off short.

#### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF WITNESS EGE

Mr. EGE. I have one comment.

Mr. Chairman, I think there is one very instructive point in this shakeup, and I would like that to go into the record.

The Soviet press, for years, boasted that, in the West there are reactionaries, warmongers, and so on; that the West, especially the United States of America, is organizer of what is commonly called the third world war.

Now we had the pleasure of hearing from Malenkov, Khrushchev that they had their own reactionaries and warmongers.

On the question of foreign policy, it was formulated and written on paper that Molotov, Mikoyan, and Malenkov were that group which opposed lessening the world tensions and were trying to create new world tensions and war. That indicates that, within the presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that means within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, there was a large group of people who wanted reaction, war, and new catastrophe.

I would like that to go in the record.

Senator HRUSKA. Thank you, Mr. Ege.

Mr. MORRIS. Anything more, Mr. Klimov?

#### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF WITNESS KLIMOV

Mr. KLIMOV. I'd like only to make it short.

The shifting of persons in the top echelons in Soviet Union will change nothing, because here in the West there can be only guessing in connection with these changes. All of us hope that maybe somebody

who will come to the leadership will be better than Molotov, Kaganovich, Khrushchev, or Stalin.

My point, which I would underline here and emphasize: So long as the system itself isn't changing, there will be no changes no matter who will be the leader. As long as, or as soon as there will be personal dictatorship, which is practically now underway, we will have the same troubles with all the Soviet system as we had before.

Senator HRUSKA. Thank you very much.

Mr. MORRIS. Excuse me, Senator, I would like to put into the record in connection with the spy case the statement of Congressman Walter, who put many facts about the Communist activities in the United States of the Zlatovskis in the record, and I think it is important.

Senator HRUSKA. It will be placed in the record in the appropriate place.

(The statement of Congressman Walter was marked "Exhibit No. 486" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 486

[From the Congressional Record, July 10, p. 10132]

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE FRANCIS E. WALTER ON TWO EX-UNITED STATES AIDS INDICTED AS SPIES BY A FEDERAL GRAND JURY IN NEW YORK

(Mr. WALTER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, the July 9 newspapers throughout the United States carry the story of the actions by a Federal grand jury in returning espionage indictments against additional American citizens.

Those recently indicted are Jane Foster Zlatovski, who was born in San Francisco, Calif., on June 29, 1912, and George Michael Zlatovski, her husband, a naturalized American, born in Russia.

The indictment charged that since 1940, the Zlatovskis conspired with Russians in New York, Washington, Paris, Austria, and Switzerland to obtain United States defense data of interest to the Soviet Union. They were accused of stealing documents and photographs and with having turned over commercial, industrial, and political information, as well as information respecting the military with whom they were directly employed.

Jane Foster Zlatovski was issued a passport on March 13, 1947, which was renewed on March 18, 1949, at Paris, France. A new passport was issued at Paris, France, April 9, 1951. This passport was renewed on April 20, 1953. On December 3, 1954, her passport was taken up and withdrawn by the Department of State. The passport expired on April 20, 1955. She sought return of her passport, and on January 19, 1955, she received an informal hearing. In this connection she executed an affidavit which denied that she was then or had ever been a member of the Communist Party, the Communist Political Association, the Young Communist League, or, to her knowledge, any other Communist organization. However, she admitted that during a brief period commencing in May 1941, and terminating in January 1942, she "embraced what I then conceived the Communist ideology with enthusiasm, attended all manner of meetings, particularly because my own abhorrence of war coincided with the then expressed views of those espousing the Communist cause."

Jane Zlatovski thereafter was accorded all of the procedures of appeal, including a hearing before the Board of Passport Appeals. On March 29, 1955, the Board of Passport Appeals recommended that a passport be denied to her. On March 30, 1955, the Secretary of State approved the recommendations of the Board of Passport Appeals and her application for a passport was disapproved.

The Passport Division, the Board of Passport Appeals, and the Secretary of State acted upon confidential information which had been received from agencies of the United States Government and mainly from the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This information, which was subsequently made public, was that Jane Zlatovski had attended Communist Party meetings in San Francisco in 1934 and 1935; that in June 1941 she picketed the White House for the American Peace Mobilization, an organization cited by the Attorney General; that she was

a Communist Party member; that she, in 1942, was reported to be in sympathy with the ideology of the Communist Party and to be a Communist; that she is married to one George Michael Zlatovski, a known Communist, who was born in Russia and who now resides in Paris; that she in 1942, prior to her marriage, lived in New York with people who conducted Communist meetings in their home; that she was associated with or in contact with or affiliated with several organizations, including the International Labor Defense in 1941, the Washington Book Shop in 1943, and the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born; that she publicly discussed her Communist Party membership in Washington, D. C., in 1942; that she worked for the Communist Party in the Dutch East Indies from 1936 to 1940, and also in San Francisco; that both she and her husband were doing Communist Party work in Europe in 1948 and that while employed by the OSS she gave an interview to the Daily People's World, the official west coast Communist publication, at which time she disclosed her connection with the OSS Java mission, which disclosure amounted to a serious breach of security regulations of the OSS.

Thereafter, Jane Foster Zlatovski filed suit against the Secretary of State in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. This action to force the Secretary of State to issue a passport was assigned to Judge Burnita S. Matthews.

On July 9, 1955, Jane Foster Zlatovski asked the court to issue a preliminary injunction enjoining the Department of State from withholding or denying a passport during the pendency of the suit in order that she might return immediately to her husband in Paris.

On June 28, 1955, Judge Matthews ordered the Secretary of State to grant Mrs. Zlatovski a quasi-judicial hearing. The quasi-judicial hearing had been ruled in earlier decisions against the Secretary of State to be a hearing in which the applicant for a passport was faced by their accusers.

On August 3, 1955, the Secretary of State filed an affidavit in support of the Government's motion for a summary dismissal of the action. The Secretary's affidavit, which included the derogatory information set forth above, concluded, "I have again reviewed the file in the passport case of Mrs. Jane Foster Zlatovski, and based on all of the available information, I have reached the conclusion that it would not be in the interest of the United States to issue a passport to Mrs. Jane Foster Zlatovski to go abroad in that her return to France would be inimical to the security of the United States and to its relations with other countries."

The Secretary of State in reaching these findings had information which directly related to the espionage activities in which Jane Foster Zlatovski was engaged. The indictment of the Sobels and other indictments for espionage, which I am confident will grow out of the grand jury investigation now going on in New York, would have been impossible had the Secretary of State made available to Jane Foster Zlatovski, a member of the espionage organization, the information or a portion of the information which was in the Secretary's possession.

After the affidavit by the Secretary of State was filed, Judge Matthews called into chambers Leonard Boudin, the attorney for Jane Zlatovski, and the attorney for the Secretary of State, and indicated that unless the Department possessed and divulged derogatory information in addition to that set forth above, and in particular derogatory information dated more recently than 1948, she would issue an order directing the issuance of a passport to Jane Foster Zlatovski, who was yesterday indicted for engaging in espionage against the United States.

The Secretary of State was therefore placed by the court in the untenable position of either divulging to a member of an espionage organization, the knowledge which the Secretary possessed of her espionage activities or of giving her a United States passport which would permit her to return to Europe and to engage in espionage in behalf of the Soviets against our free allies.

Mr. Speaker, this situation again points up the necessity for the Congress to assert its prerogatives as the lawmaking body of the National Government. Time and again, in hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as well as hearings of a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, we have seen cases in which the security of this Nation is threatened by loose passport practices which are spear-headed by court decisions such as the decision in the instant case.

I call this to the attention of the House because I expect to press relentlessly for remedial legislation to the end that we may have a sound passport program.

Mr. MORRIS. One other thing. [Addressing the press table:] Are you a Tass representative?

Mr. KISLOF. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. We have a new Tass representative. I do not think I have seen this man.

Could you identify yourself for the record?

Mr. KISLOF. Alexander Kislof, K-i-s-l-o-f.

Mr. MORRIS. Is Mr. Paramanov still over here?

Mr. KISLOF. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Does that conclude the hearing?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. The subcommittee wants to thank the witnesses for coming and contributing to the record of the committee.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:10 a. m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

(The New York Federal grand jury indictment of Rudolph Ivanovich Abel was later ordered into the record and reads as follows:)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

*United States of America v. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel*, also known as Mark and also known as Martin Collins and Emil R. Goldfus, Defendant

No. —

The Grand Jury charges:

COUNT ONE

1. That from in or about 1948 and continuously thereafter up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, in the Eastern District of New York, in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and elsewhere, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Martin Collins and Emil R. Goldfus, the defendant herein, unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly did conspire and agree with Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic", Mikhail Svirin, Vitali G. Pavlov, and Aleksandr Mikhailovich Korotkov, coconspirators but not defendants herein, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to violate Subsection (a) of Section 794, Title 18, United States Code, in that they did unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly conspire and agree to communicate, deliver, and transmit to a foreign Government, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and representatives and agents thereof, directly and indirectly, documents, writings, photographs, photographic negatives, plans, maps, models, notes, instruments, appliances, and information relating to the national defense of the United States of America, and particularly information relating to arms, equipment and disposition of United States Armed Forces, and information relating to the atomic energy program of the United States, with intent and reason to believe that the said documents, writings, photographs, photographic negatives, plans, maps, models, notes, instruments, appliances, and information would be used to the advantage of a foreign nation, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. It was a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and his coconspirators would collect and obtain, and attempt to collect and obtain and would aid and induce divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to collect and obtain information relating to the national defense of the United States of America, with intent and reason to believe that the said information would be used to the advantage of the said foreign nation, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and certain of the coconspirators, including Aleksandr Mikhailovich Korotkov and Mikhail Svirin, being representatives, agents, and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, would by personal contact, communications and other means to the Grand Jury unknown, both directly and indirectly, employ, supervise, pay, and

maintain the defendant and other coconspirators for the purpose of communicating, delivering, and transmitting information relating to the national defense of the United States to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would activate and attempt to activate as agents within the United States certain members of the United States Armed Forces who were in a position to acquire information relating to the national defense of the United States, and would communicate, deliver, and transmit, and would aid and induce each other and divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to communicate, deliver, and transmit information relating to the national defense of the United States to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would use short-wave radios to receive instructions issued by said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to send information to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

6. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would fashion "containers" from bolts, nails, coins, batteries, pencils, cuff links, earrings and the like, by hollowing out concealed chambers in such devices suitable to secrete therein microfilm, microdot, and other secret messages.

7. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and his coconspirators would communicate with each other by enclosing messages in said "containers" and depositing said "containers" in prearranged "drop" points in Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York, in Fort Tryon Park in New York City, and at other places in the Eastern District of New York and elsewhere.

8. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and certain of his coconspirators would receive from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its agents, officers, and employees large sums of money with which to carry on their illegal activities within the United States, some of which money would thereupon be stored for future use by burying it in the ground in certain places in the Eastern District of New York and elsewhere.

9. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators, including Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," would assume, on instruction of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the identities of certain United States citizens, both living and deceased, and would use birth certificates and passports in the name of such United States citizens, and would communicate with each other and other agents, officers, and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics through the use of numerical and other types of secret codes, and would adopt other and further means to conceal the existence and purpose of said conspiracy.

10. It was further a part of said conspiracy that defendant and certain of his coconspirators would, in the event of war between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, set up clandestine radio transmitting and receiving posts for the purpose of continuing to furnish the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with information relating to the national defense of the United States, and would engage in acts of sabotage against the United States.

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendant and his coconspirators did commit, among others, in the Eastern District of New York and elsewhere, the following:

#### OVERT ACTS

1. In or about the year 1948 Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, the defendant herein, did enter the United States at an unknown point along the Canadian-United States border.

2. In or about the summer of 1952, at the headquarters of the Committee of Information (known as the KI) in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did meet with Vitali G. Pavlov, a coconspirator herein.

3. In or about the summer of 1952, at the headquarters of the Committee of Information (known as the KI) in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did meet with Mikhail Svirin, a coconspirator herein.

4. On or about October 21, 1952, in New York City, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did disembark from the liner "Queen Mary."

5. In or about October 1952, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did go to Central Park in Manhattan, New York City, and did leave a signal in the vicinity of the restaurant known as the Tavern-on-the-Green.

6. In or about 1952, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did go to the vicinity of Prospect Park in Brooklyn within the Eastern District of New York.

7. In or about November 1952, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did go to Fort Tryon Park in New York City and did leave a message.

8. In or about December 1952, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did meet and confer with Mikhail Svirin, a coconspirator herein, in the vicinity of Prospect Park in Brooklyn within the Eastern District of New York.

9. In or about the summer of 1953, Mikhail Svirin, a coconspirator herein, did meet and confer with Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, in the vicinity of Prospect Park in Brooklyn, within the Eastern District of New York, and did give to Hayhanen a package of soft film.

10. On or about December 17, 1953, the defendant, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, did rent a studio consisting of one room on the fifth floor of the building located at 252 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, within the Eastern District of New York.

11. In or about August or September 1954, the defendant, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, did meet with Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, in the vicinity of the Keith's RKO Theater, Flushing, Long Island, within the Eastern District of New York.

12. In or about the summer of 1954, the defendant, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, and Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did go by automobile to the vicinity of New Hyde Park, Long Island, within the Eastern District of New York.

13. In or about March or April 1955, the defendant, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, and Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did proceed by automobile from New York City to Atlantic City, New Jersey.

14. In or about the spring of 1955, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did proceed by automobile from New York City to the vicinity of Quincy, Massachusetts, at the direction of defendant Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins.

15. In or about December 1954 or January 1955, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did proceed by rail transportation from New York to Salida, Colorado, at the direction of the defendant Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil Goldfus and Martin Collins.

16. In or about the spring of 1955, the defendant, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, and Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, did proceed from New York City to the vicinity of Poughkeepsie, New York, for the purpose of locating a suitable site for a shortwave radio.

17. In or about the spring of 1955, the defendant, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, in the vicinity of 252 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, New York, within the Eastern District of New York, did give a shortwave radio to Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein.

18. In or about 1955, the defendant, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, did bring a coded message to Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, and did request him to decipher said message.

19. In or about February 1957, the defendant, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark," and also known as Emil R. Goldfus and Martin Collins, did meet and confer with Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," a coconspirator herein, in the vicinity of Prospect Park, Brooklyn, within the Eastern District of New York, and did then and there give to Hayhanen a birth certificate and two hundred dollars in United States currency.

(In violation of 18 U. S. C. 794 (c).)

## COUNT TWO

The Grand Jury further charges:

1. That from in or about 1948 and continuously thereafter and up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, in the Eastern District of New York, in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and elsewhere, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark," and also known as Martin Collins and Emil R. Goldfus, the defendant herein, unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly did conspire and agree with Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic"; Mikhail Svirin; Vitali G. Pavlov; and Aleksandr Mikhailovich Korotkov, coconspirators but not defendants herein, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to violate Subsection (c) of Section 793, Title 18, United States Code, in the manner and by the means hereinafter set forth.

2. It was a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and his coconspirators would, for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the national defense of the United States of America, receive and obtain and attempt to receive and obtain documents, writings, photographs, photographic negatives, plans, maps, models, instruments, appliances, and notes, of things connected with the national defense of the United States, knowing and having reason to believe at the time of said agreement to receive and obtain said documents, writing, photographs, photographic negatives, plans, maps, models, instruments, appliances, and notes of things connected with the national defense, that said material would be obtained, taken, made, and disposed of contrary to the provisions of Chapter 37, Title 18, United States Code, in that they would be delivered and transmitted, directly and indirectly, to a foreign Government, to wit, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and to representatives, officers, agents, and employees of the said Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the said defendant, intending and having reason to believe that the said documents, writings, photographs, photographic negatives, plans, maps, models, instruments, appliances, and notes of things relating to the national defense of the United States of America would be used to the advantage of a foreign nation, to wit, the said Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and his coconspirators would make contact with persons to the Grand Jury unknown, who were resident in the United States, and at places to the Grand Jury unknown, and who, by reason of their employment, position, or otherwise, were acquainted and familiar with and were in possession of or had access to information relating to the national defense of the United States of America.

4. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would activate and attempt to activate as agents within the United States certain members of the United States Armed Forces who were in a position to acquire information relating to the national defense of the United States, and would communicate, deliver, and transmit, and would aid and induce each other and divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown to communicate, deliver, and transmit information relating to the national defense of the United States to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would use shortwave radios to receive instructions issued by said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to send information to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

6. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would fashion "containers" from bolts, nails, coins, batteries, pencils, cuff links, earrings, and the like, by hollowing out concealed chambers in such devices suitable to secrete therein microfilm, microdot, and other secret messages.

7. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and his coconspirators would communicate with each other by enclosing messages in said "containers" and depositing said "containers" in prearranged "drop" points in Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York, in Fort Tryon Park in New York City, and at other places in the Eastern District of New York and elsewhere.

8. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and certain of his coconspirators would receive from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its agents, officers, and employees large sums of money with which to carry on their illegal activities within the United States, some of which money would thereupon be stored for future use by burying it in the ground in certain places in the Eastern District of New York and elsewhere.

9. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators, including Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," would assume, on instruction of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the identities of certain United States citizens, both living and deceased, and would use birth certificates and passports in the name of such United States citizens, and would communicate with each other and other agents, officers, and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics through the use of numerical and other types of secret codes, and would adopt other and further means to conceal the existence of said conspiracy.

10. It was further a part of said conspiracy that defendant and certain of his coconspirators would, in the event of war between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, set up clandestine radio transmitting and receiving posts for the purpose of continuing to furnish the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with information relating to the national defense of the United States, and would engage in acts of sabotage against the United States.

#### OVERT ACTS

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendant and his coconspirators did commit, among others, within the Eastern District of New York and elsewhere, the overt acts as alleged and set forth under Count One of this indictment, all of which overt acts are hereby realleged by the Grand Jury.

(Section 793, Title 18, United States Code.)

#### COUNT THREE

The Grand Jury further charges:

1. That throughout the entire period from in or about 1948 and up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through its representatives, agents, and employees, maintained within the United States and other parts of the world, a system and organization for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, and receiving information and material from the United States of a military, commercial, industrial, and political nature, and in connection therewith, recruited, induced, engaged, and maintained the defendant and coconspirators hereinafter named and divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, as agents, representatives and employees to obtain, collect, and receive such information and material for the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. That from in or about 1948 and continuously thereafter up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment in the Eastern District of New York; in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and elsewhere, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Martin Collins and Emil R. Goldfus, the defendant herein, unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did conspire and agree with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and with agents, officers, and employees of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including Aleksandr Mikhailovich, Korotkov, Vitali G. Pavlov, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," coconspirators but not defendants herein, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to commit an offense against the United States of America, to wit, to violate Section 951, Title 18, United States Code, in the manner and by the means hereinafter set forth.

3. It was a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," and other coconspirators to the Grand Jury unknown, none of whom were included among the accredited diplomatic or consular officers or attachés of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or of any foreign government, would, within the United States, and without prior notification to the Secretary of State, act as agents of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and would, as such agents, obtain, collect, and receive information and material of a military, industrial, and political nature, and as such agents would communicate and deliver said information and material to other coconspirators for transmission to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was also a part of the said conspiracy that coconspirators residing outside the United States would direct, aid, and assist the defendant and certain coconspirators as aforesaid to act as such agents within the United States and would receive and transmit the said information and material to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4. It was further a part of the said conspiracy that the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its officers, agents, and employees would employ, supervise, and maintain the defendant and Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," within the United States as such agents of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting, and communicating information and material of a military, commercial, industrial, and political nature.

5. It was further a part of the said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would receive sums of money and other valuable considerations from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, its officers, agents, and employees, in return for acting as said agents of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics within the United States for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting, and communicating information, material, messages, and instructions on behalf and for the use and advantage of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

6. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and his coconspirators would use false and fictitious names, coded communications, and would resort to other means to the Grand Jury unknown to conceal the existence and purpose of said conspiracy.

#### OVERT ACTS

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendant and his coconspirators did commit, among others, within the Eastern District of New York and elsewhere, the overt acts as alleged and set forth under Count I of this indictment, all of which overt acts are hereby re-alleged by the Grand Jury.

(In violation of Section 371, Title 18, United States Code.)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Foreman.*  
WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS,  
*Assistant Attorney General.*  
LEONARD P. MOORE,  
*United States Attorney.*

## PART 72

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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MARCH 5 AND JULY 16, 1957

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## PART 73

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1958

Boston Public Library  
Superintendent of Documents

MAR 11 1958

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2 p. m., in room 457 Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William A. Rusher, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research, and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order.

I should like to say that, during the past year, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has received evidence that Communists have been active in some of the great cities of the United States. The Internal Security Subcommittee learned of a Communist cell operating in New Orleans, and the subcommittee went to that city and held public hearings during April of 1956. The New Orleans Item stated after those hearings:

Many have been accustomed here to thinking of communism as a distant danger—something to read about in stories with faraway datelines. Yet a moment's sober thought should tell us that New Orleans—one of the Nation's major ports and a great crossroad of culture and commerce—is a most obvious target for the promoters of a worldwide conspiracy.

In its annual report, the subcommittee concluded that these hearings—

proved to be a good object lesson to similarly lulled communities all over the Nation. The hearings demonstrated Soviet techniques used to move into a typical American city. It is only reasonable to expect that such methods may also be in use in other cities.

We have received testimony that Communists are active in the great city of Philadelphia, and we have here today two witnesses who we believe can tell us about Communist activity in that city.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Felsenstein.

Senator HRUSKA. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF JACOB FELSENSTEIN, PHILADELPHIA, PA., ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM WOOLSTON, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. WOOLSTON. Mr. Chairman, in order to expedite the hearings, I want to say that my clients have advised me, and I believe, that they have no current knowledge of any Communist activity in Philadelphia or any other city.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Jacob Felsenstein, 3143 Euclid Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you appear here with an attorney?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel, will you identify yourself.

Mr. WOOLSTON. William Woolston, 2015 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or occupation, Mr. Felsenstein?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I am a commercial artist.

Mr. MORRIS. And where do you work?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. At Majestic Press, Inc.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you worked there?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Five years.

Mr. MORRIS. You are a graduate of Teachers College of Temple University, are you not?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. No, I am not.

Mr. MORRIS. That is your wife, isn't it?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You attended Central High School?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. You attended Industrial Art School, Broad and Pine Streets?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you attend Benjamin Franklin High School?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. No, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. What other education have you had, other than the schools I have mentioned?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I studied painting one summer at Provincetown under Charles Hawthorne, the late painter.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, from 1935 to 1939, you were on the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board, were you not?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And from 1939 to 1942 you worked at Lit Bros. Department Store?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And then, from 1942 to 1946, you were with the Baldwin Locomotive Works?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And then, from 1947 to 1950, you had your own business at 920 Walnut Street in Philadelphia?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you now are in the commercial art business at 920 Walnut Street in Philadelphia?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I work for Majestic Press, as previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have been working for them since the last year?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Five years.

Mr. MORRIS. Since 1951.

Now, Senator, the subcommittee has received sworn testimony that the witness here today has been a member of the Communist Party. We further learned—our information indicates that he was a member of the district committee of the Communist Party for eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

And I ask you, Mr. Felsenstein, if you have been a member of the district committee of the Communist Party for eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I have already answered that question, I believe, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You have answered that question in the public record?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I answered it in Senator Hruska's office.

Mr. MORRIS. You may answer it now for the public record.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to give any testimony which can be used against me in a criminal prosecution.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you are claiming your privilege as to self-incrimination under the fifth amendment of the Constitution?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I will not be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think it is apparent that the witness has made it clear that he is invoking his privilege under the fifth amendment when he says he will not be a witness against himself.

And, as is the committee practice, I suggest, Senator, we accept that.

Mr. HRUSKA. Is that the intention of the witness?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer it as an intention?

Mr. WOOLSTON. You have to state—rather, I advise you that you do not have to answer the prior question, because that might make you a witness against yourself.

Senator HRUSKA. What is your answer, Mr. Witness? My question is whether it is your intention to assert your constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I should answer that, I think, the same way, that I refuse to be a witness against myself, and I think that holds.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. The answer will be accepted, pursuant to your suggestion, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you attended Communist Party conventions throughout Pennsylvania?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, you do not.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, specifically in 1946, did you attend the National Steel Commission of the Communist Party, meeting in Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No; for two reasons:

I don't think it is within the area of this subcommittee, which is interested in current activity, and secondly, you can do it on the constitutional grounds.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you made frequent visits to eastern Pennsylvania, to visit members of the Communist Party in that area?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No; you do not, for the same reasons stated.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to answer, for the same reasons as previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. What is that reason?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. And you frequently stayed with Billie Jane Lipsett, a member of the section committee of the Communist Party in the Lehigh Valley area?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the same two reasons.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you visited a Communist Party member by the name of Theodore Norton, a former librarian at Lafayette College?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No; for the same two reasons.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. Let the record show that when the witness asks whether the must answer that, that the question is directed to his counsel and not to the Chair.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have signed copies of the Communist Party nominating petition?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the same reason.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. On May 20, 1942, did you attend a Communist Party meeting at 401 South 60th Street, in Philadelphia, Pa.?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, because I don't think it is within the jurisdiction of this committee, and you have a constitutional right not to do so.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse under the previous ground to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the ground—that is the one basis that you are invoking?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. That is the basis.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, specifically, did you not, on September 21, 1943, collect 110 signatures on the Communist nominating petition?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that, sir?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the same two reasons, namely, I doubt this committee's jurisdiction to ask the question, and for the constitutional reason previously stated.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. And in 1945, did you attend a convention in eastern Pennsylvania, sponsored by the Communist Political Association?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the reasons I previously gave.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, at that particular convention you were active with the professional section of the Communist Party, and you met with that section, did you not?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, on May 1, 1946, were you a speaker at a Communist Party rally at Markoe Street and Fairmont Avenue in Philadelphia?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the same two reasons, the jurisdictional point and the constitutional point.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show that counsel is consistently making a recommendation that the witness refuse to answer on the two grounds, one on the claim of privilege, and one, the jurisdictional authority.

And I would like the record to show that up to now the witness himself has not claimed the committee's lack of jurisdiction.

Senator HRUSKA. The record will so show.

Mr. MORRIS. On July 13, 1951, did you attend a meeting under the banner of Freedom of the Arts, which was sponsored by the Philadelphia Council for the Arts, Sciences, and Professions?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. On June 7, 1952, did you attend a Paul Robeson birthday concert at the Metropolitan Opera, at Broad and Poplar Streets in Philadelphia?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. On October 9, 1952, did you attend a meeting of the Citizens Emergency Council for Democratic Rights?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse on the jurisdiction ground, that this committee has no jurisdiction during that period, and I also refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the first reason for the witness' refusing be overruled, because it is very obvious that the committee does have jurisdiction: the committee is looking into Communist activities in the area of Philadelphia, and has reason to believe that this witness has information that will be very valuable to this committee.

Senator HRUSKA. The jurisdiction of this committee has been very well established for a long time, and the first objection is overruled.

Mr. WOOLSTON. May I have it noted in the record that at the opening of the session there was a statement read that this committee is investigating current activity, and that is our understanding, and the questions are not directed to current activity.

Senator HRUSKA. Notwithstanding the observation of counsel, the ruling is still the same.

Mr. MORRIS. It is apparent that unless we know the activities of the people in the immediate past, recent past, we cannot possibly form any conclusion about present activities.

Senator, I might say that the evidence that we are considering in this series of hearings deals with Communist Party activities not only in Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania generally, but specifically with respect to the cities of Bethlehem, Allentown, Easton, and Reading.

The testimony in the record that we have concerns activity in those cities.

Now, do you know the identity of any Communists in the city of Bethlehem?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know the identity of any Communists in Allentown?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds as the previous question.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know the identity of any Communists in Easton, Pa.?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds as previously noted.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know the identity of any Communists in Reading, Pa.?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds as previously noted.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been active in peace rallies in Philadelphia; have you not?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the two reasons I stated before.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. You have addressed demonstrations against the war in Korea; have you not?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the two reasons I previously stated.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse, on the basis that I will not be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us what the Pearl Harbor Peace Party is?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No; same reasons.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. On January 24, 1953, did you attend a showing of a motion picture entitled "The New China," which showing took place at the Russian American Club at 1115 North Fourth Street, Philadelphia?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, you do not; you have a right to refuse.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a freedom festival held at Camp Alpine, R. F. D. 1, Boyertown, Pa., on June 21, 1953?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been active for the Citizens Committee for the Rosenbergs?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse, on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. And subsequent to their execution, have you been active with an organization called the Memorial to the Rosenbergs?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse, on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have recently been given a big award in Philadelphia, have you not, citizens' award?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Well, it was an award which was given me by the Good Citizenship Committee of the City of Philadelphia for—I believe—I can't remember precisely—something like devoted, dedi-

cated, and unselfish work performed voluntarily in behalf of the community on the free institutions of our way of life.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that award given to you?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. September 17, 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was that award made?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Independence Hall, in the square.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you attended secret meetings of the Communist Party in Philadelphia?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a Communist today?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I am not.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you resign from the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. March 5—

Mr. WOOLSTON. He didn't hear the question.

Repeat the question.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you resign from the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that, sir?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No; you can refuse on constitutional grounds.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse; I will not be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the last time that you met with a person you knew to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I didn't hear that question. Will you please repeat it?

Mr. MORRIS. When was the last time that you met with a person whom you knew to have been a Communist Party functionary?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that question?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, you do not, for the two reasons previously stated.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a woman named Mary Lockner, 3011 West Clifford Street, Philadelphia?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, you do not have to answer that, for the two reasons I have previously told you.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever attended a Communist Party meeting with Mary Lockner?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions of this witness.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Witness, are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. No; I am not.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you a member of any committee or any agency or any department of the Communist Party today?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I am not.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you recently been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I don't understand what "recently" even means.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you been a member of the Communist Party in the last 6 months?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I have not.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you been a member of the Communist Party in the last calendar year?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I have not.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you been a member of the Communist Party within the last 2 years?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you been a member of the Communist Party in the last 3 years?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse on the ground previously stated.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you now active in the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. Would you repeat the question? I don't think he understood it.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you now active in the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I have answered a question that I am not now a member; how could I be active in it?

Mr. WOOLSTON. Answer the question: Are you now active in the Communist Party.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I ask a question?

Senator HRUSKA. Surely.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you met in the past 6 months with a person you knew to have been a Communist Party functionary?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the reasons I previously stated.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you effect a tactical resignation from the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the reasons I previously stated.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you met within the last few months with any individual you knew to be a Communist Party functionary?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see an individual you knew to have been a Communist Party functionary?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I ask a few more questions?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes, you may.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know a man named William Crawford in Philadelphia? He lives at 1106 North 41st Street.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the reasons already stated.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, is he a Communist?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I have no knowledge of the Communists.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no knowledge?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. You will not tell us whether or not you know the man?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I said, I refuse to be a witness against myself for that question asked.

Mr. WOOLSTON. Mr. Witness, in your second reply, I think you have no right to plead the Constitution, because you have stated you know he is not now a Communist.

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. No; I said—

Mr. MORRIS. He didn't say that; he says he has no knowledge.

Mr. WOOLSTON. I am sorry.

Then you still have the right.

I am sorry.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a meeting on September 13, 1952, at Town Hall, at 150 North Broad Street in the company of William Crawford?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Didn't you at that meeting sign a petition to President Truman requesting that he end the Korean war and establish peace in Korea?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Will you step down.

Mrs. Felsenstein, will you come forward.

Senator HRUSKA. Raise your right hand, please.

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. Excuse me. May I confer with counsel first?

Mr. WOOLSTON. Be sworn in first.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FELSENSTEIN. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF ELEANOR PRICE FELSENSTEIN, ACCCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM WOOLSTON, HER ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. You are Eleanor Price Felsenstein?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And where do you reside?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. 3143 Euclid Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. You are a graduate of Teachers College of Temple University?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present occupation?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. Housewife.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No; for two reasons: One, the constitutional reason, and the other, the jurisdictional reason, unless the time and date is specified.

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to answer on two grounds: One, that I refuse to testify against myself, and the other, that this committee has no jurisdiction, unless the time is specified.

Senator HRUSKA. The first objection is recognized; the second objection, however, is overruled.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, are you presently a Communist?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. Listen to the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you presently a Communist?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last meet with Communists, persons you knew to be Communists?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. Do I have to answer that?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No, for the two reasons I previously stated.

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. I refuse to answer, for the two reasons I previously stated.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in view of your quorum call, I think there is no use going into it. We have much the same declaratory problem, association with peace groups in Philadelphia.

Mr. WOOLSTON. In order that the record may be more complete, may I say that this witness would respond very generally the same as her husband would, and I don't think you will get anything new from this witness.

Senator HRUSKA. You heard the questions that were asked of your husband a little bit ago, Mrs. Felsenstein?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. The general tenor of them, the statement just made by counsel with respect to the general answers you would give to them; do you agree with that?

Mrs. FELSENSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. WOOLSTON. The only distinction is that Mrs. Felsenstein would continue to press the second objection, in addition to the first.

Senator HRUSKA. With reference to all the questions?

Mr. WOOLSTON. No; in more or less the same general area of questions you asked her, she would answer the same as her husband, at least that it was indicated when we discussed the matter, coming down on the train this morning.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Any further questions?

(No response.)

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

The witness is excused, and the hearing is concluded.

(Whereupon, at 2:40 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:10 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William A. Rusher, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRSKA. The subcommittee will come to order.

The Chair would like to state that this is the hearing which was originally scheduled and testimony which was originally scheduled for an area hearing to be held in Philadelphia. It was the plan of this subcommittee to have a number of witnesses testify on the subject at hand. However, the work of the Senate has prevented any member of the subcommittee from getting up to those hearings scheduled up there on a more extensive scale, and, because we would like to get this particular aspect of the hearings underway, it was thought well that the witness of this morning appear here and that we get started on those hearings here.

At a later time, and dependent upon the fashion in which the business of the Senate develops later this month, and perhaps next month, we will give further consideration to continuance of these hearings either in the Philadelphia area or here, as may best develop.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, by way of supplementing what you said, roughly, the subcommittee had planned to take the testimony of 4 men who had served as undercover informants for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Philadelphia area, together with 26 other persons, including the 5 or 6 individuals whom we learned from these other particular, responsive witnesses were the leaders of the Communist organization in Philadelphia.

We learned of the Communist Party's plans in Philadelphia as to what their counteroffense against the committee was going to be. That is something, Senator, we can go into later, but in connection with an area hearing the subcommittee held during last year, it came to the conclusion that, in order to really understand the nature of the Communist organization throughout the Nation, it should pause from time to time and look at the certain areas so that it can learn with particularity how the Communist Party operates in a specific area.

Now, the first witness this morning, Senator, is a man who has served as an informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. We had also subpoenaed for this morning Mr. Herman Solitrin, so that he might have an opportunity to answer the testimony of Mr. Walter here this morning. Now, he has not been able to get a lawyer. His lawyer, Senator, called to say he would not be able to appear later in the month when we had the hearings scheduled in Philadelphia, so, therefore, in order to accommodate the lawyer, we said the witness might come in today.

At that point we discovered that the lawyer had still another obligation, but he would advise Mr. Solitrin to get another lawyer, and Mr. Solitrin since has not obtained a lawyer, but I don't think we should really—he certainly has had a whole week to get a lawyer.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, we will defer to his wishes in that matter, and, if he prefers not to testify until a later time, that is agreeable to the chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you stand to be sworn, Mr. Walter?

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WALTER. I do.

Senator HRUSKA. You may proceed, Mr. Morris.

#### TESTIMONY OF HARRY WALTER, KINTNERSVILLE, PA.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Walter, will you tell us where you reside? First, give us your full name.

Mr. WALTER. Harry Walter, R. F. D. No. 1, Kintnersville, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. What county is that?

Mr. WALTER. Bucks County.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Mr. WALTER. Bethlehem, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profesison?

Mr. WALTER. I work at steel.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have worked in steel all your life?

Mr. WALTER. Twenty-two years, now.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present occupation?

Mr. WALTER. I am a manipulator on 40 No. 1 bloomer.

Mr. MORRIS. A manipulator on 40 No. 1 bloomer?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. That is Bethlehem Steel Co.?

Mr. WALTER. That is a rolling mill.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us, generally, what that work involves?

Mr. WALTER. Well, we roll out steel in different shapes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you work for the Bethlehem Steel Co.?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been working with the Bethlehem Steel Co.?

Mr. WALTER. Twenty-two years.

Mr. MORRIS. You are also a shop steward with the union; are you not?

Mr. WALTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What union is that?

Mr. WALTER. CIO Steelworkers.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in your earlier days you were drawn into the Communist Party; were you not?

Mr. WALTER. Sir?

Mr. MORRIS. In your younger days, you were drawn to the Communist Party; were you not?

Mr. WALTER. In 1946, in a strike.

Mr. MORRIS. And you participated in the 1946 strike, and as a result of that did you go into the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. I attended a few meetings.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us about it.

Mr. WALTER. Well, they took me up to this here Barton, Phil Barton; this Charles Erney made me—

Mr. MORRIS. You say Phil Barton?

Mr. WALTER. Barton.

Mr. MORRIS. B-a-r-t-o-n?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was he?

Mr. WALTER. He was an organizer for the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was he from; Philadelphia?

Mr. WALTER. I think he was from Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. You say he took you to a meeting?

Mr. WALTER. Charles Erney took me to Phil Barton, and they recommended I go up to Allentown to a meeting, on 19th Street, at this here—that furniture man; I just can't think of his name.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, it may be that the witness is distracted by the photographer.

Senator HRUSKA. Yes; I think that is probably right.

Will the photographer finish taking his picture, and then we will proceed with the testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. You say Phil Barton?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Now, he took you to a Communist meeting in Allentown?

Mr. WALTER. He told Charles Erney to take me downtown.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, where did you go in Allentown?

Mr. WALTER. On 19th Street, at Dave Karol's place.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the home of David Karol?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. He lived at 19th Street, Allentown?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there a Communist meeting there?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened at that meeting?

Mr. WALTER. They were soliciting some kind of funds for the strike—to support the strike.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you, as a result of that meeting, join the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. I can't say I joined it. I just went to some meetings.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us about your experience in the Communist Party at that particular time, in the 1946 period?

Mr. WALTER. Well, I went to a few meetings. I never paid no dues. And then I just discontinued; I lost all interest in it.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Walter, at that first meeting to which you went, how many were present?

Mr. WALTER. There were about half a dozen there. I am not positive of that number.

Senator HRUSKA. Was there a leader, or a chairman who was in charge of the meetings?

Mr. WALTER. Dave Karol had charge of that meeting.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know what his address is, or where he lives?

Mr. WALTER. At present, I don't; no.

Senator HRUSKA. Where did he live at that time?

Mr. WALTER. 19th Street, in Allentown.

Senator HRUSKA. By whom was he employed?

Mr. WALTER. I think he was in business for himself, some kind of furniture business.

Senator HRUSKA. At or near the place where the meeting was held?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Senator HRUSKA. At a different place?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. His name is spelled K-a-r-o-l?

Mr. WALTER. Karol.

Mr. MORRIS. Then, you were later called by the Federal Bureau of Investigation; were you not?

Mr. WALTER. Yes; in 1952.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1952. And what happened in 1952?

Mr. WALTER. Well, they asked me if I was willing to go back into the party and secure information for the Bureau, for the Government, and they said I shouldn't give an answer, I should think it over, talk it over with my wife. There wasn't much thinking to be done. I was willing to do it.

Mr. MORRIS. Then what happened?

Mr. WALTER. Well, sometime later, then, through some manipulation I was recruited back into the Communist Party again.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you formally join the Communist Party then?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. In the first period, did you formally join?

Mr. WALTER. I wouldn't say I formally joined the first period; no.

Mr. MORRIS. You attended meetings?

Mr. WALTER. I attended a few meetings.

Mr. MORRIS. And you, generally, knew what the situation was?

Mr. WALTER. Sir?

Mr. MORRIS. And you knew something about the Communist organization?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. As a result of that experience you were asked if you would go back, and in earnest join the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And give information to the United States Government through the FBI?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you did that?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What became your assignment in the Communist Party, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. By the Communists?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. What assignment did the Communists give you?

Mr. WALTER. I was to represent steel.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us about it.

Mr. WALTER. Well, I was supposed to secure all the information from steel companies, from the Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you join a Communist unit?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. We had a Steel Club.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was the Steel Club?

Mr. WALTER. It was in Bethlehem. I mean, at my place, Bethlehem. We used to attend meetings all around.

Mr. MORRIS. Who made up the Steel Club?

Mr. WALTER. Well, there was Joe Pacucci—

Mr. MORRIS. Spell that.

Mr. WALTER. I can't spell it.

Mr. MORRIS. P-a-c-u-c-c-i?

Mr. WALTER. It is an Italian name. And Harold Allen—I mean Solitrin.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that Herman Solitrin?

Mr. WALTER. Herman Solitrin.

Mr. MORRIS. S-o-l-i-t-r-i-n?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And Al Heller?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Al Heller—H-e-l-l-e-r?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. Myself, and this here Power, Jack Power.

Mr. MORRIS. Jack Power?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were these members of this particular unit at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. WALTER. Yes, the Steel Club.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, can you tell us how many such units there were, to your knowledge, at Bethlehem Steel at that time? This is now in 1952.

Mr. WALTER. Well, I only knew of one besides ours; that was a Hungarian club, but I never had any meetings with them, you know.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, can you tell us whether or not there were any other meetings other than these two you mentioned?

Mr. WALTER. There was a number of meetings that I wasn't present.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you knew only about these particular two?

Mr. WALTER. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know definitely that there were others, or you just don't know whether or not there were others?

Mr. WALTER. Well, they held meetings, like down in Easton that I know of, but I wasn't there.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you knew only about the particular unit you were with?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Now, as a representative of that unit, were you then assigned to the steel commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us about that. What was the steel commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. That was supposed to represent the eastern part of the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did it meet?

Mr. WALTER. That met in Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the head of it?

Mr. WALTER. Well, Roberts—

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Roberts?

Mr. WALTER. Joe Roberts.

Mr. MORRIS. Joseph Roberts.

Mr. WALTER. At that time I only knew him as Vic. I don't know their right names.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, when the steel commission of the Communist Party met in Philadelphia, they did not use their right names?

Mr. WALTER. No. They never used their right names.

Mr. MORRIS. How many people were on the committee?

Mr. WALTER. Well, there was Vic, who was Joe Roberts; Blumberg.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was that? Harry Blumberg? Albert Blumberg?

Mr. WALTER. I knew him as Doc at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Who else was there?

Mr. WALTER. Earn, from Sparrows Point.

Mr. MORRIS. Aaron—A-a-r-o-n?

Mr. WALTER. Earn.

Mr. MORRIS. How do you spell that?

Mr. WALTER. E-a-r-n.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his first name?

Mr. WALTER. I don't know his first name.

Mr. MORRIS. He was from Sparrows Point?

Mr. WALTER. Sparrows Point. And a fellow by the name of Howard. I don't know his—

Mr. MORRIS. How do you spell that?

Mr. WALTER. H-o-w-a-r-d.

Mr. MORRIS. Howard.

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was he from?

Mr. WALTER. He was from Sparrows Point. They alternate. One meeting Earn would be there, and the next meeting Howard would be there. They would represent Sparrows Point.

Mr. MORRIS. How many representatives were there on the steel commission?

Mr. WALTER. Well, there was myself and—

Mr. MORRIS. Just give me the number.

Mr. WALTER. Three. Three showed up. There was supposed to be 4 at 1 of the meetings.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, you have named more than three already.

Mr. WALTER. I am just—that is actually steel representatives.

Mr. MORRIS. How many people made up the steel commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. Well, that was—to make up the steel commission, that was Vic and Blumberg and Power, or Hood. Either one of those two used to come from our section.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Hood?

Mr. WALTER. Bill Hood.

Mr. MORRIS. Bill Hood?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. And myself, and another fellow from Baldwin Locomotive Works. I don't remember his name, but I have it on record.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, from what you are saying now there were 10 or 12 people on the steel commission; is that right?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. That was with the leaders. You see, the representatives from the different plants, there was only four of us.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. In other words, there were four representatives from the plants; Bethlehem, in Allentown—I mean, Bethlehem, and Sparrows Point?

Mr. WALTER. And Baldwin Locomotive Works.

Mr. MORRIS. Baldwin Locomotive?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is Sparrows Point—Maryland, isn't it?

Mr. WALTER. That is in Baltimore, Md.

Mr. MORRIS. And Baldwin Locomotive Works is where?

Mr. WALTER. Philadelphia, or Chester, I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. And Bethlehem Steel; in Bethlehem, Pa.?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. So you representatives would meet with the leaders of the Steel Commission who met in Philadelphia?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you told us who they were.

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your assignment?

Mr. WALTER. To bring back information from the steel company.

Mr. MORRIS. What was some of the information the steel commission wanted?

Mr. WALTER. The first time Hood assigned me to the steel commission, it was through—

Mr. MORRIS. Bill Hood assigned you to the steel commission?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. He told me to get all the symbols from the various departments.

Mr. MORRIS. What are the symbols, symbol numbers?

Mr. WALTER. Well, they represent each department in the steel company, the type of work, and so forth.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, if you bring back the steel symbol numbers, would that give anyone a good idea of what is going on at the steel companies?

Mr. WALTER. Well, I couldn't tell you what they wanted them for. All I know—

Mr. MORRIS. What is the value of getting a symbol number?

Mr. WALTER. I couldn't see any value in it at all, myself. They never disclosed to me what they wanted it for.

Mr. MORRIS. What are symbol numbers?

Mr. WALTER. That represents each department.

Mr. MORRIS. Does it reflect the type of production that is going on?

Mr. WALTER. Yes; sure. Maintenance has its own symbol number.

Mr. MORRIS. Does it indicate the location of the particular project within the plant?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. SM stands for smelting. The difference in the numbers represents what part of the steel company they are at, you know.

Mr. MORRIS. So with the symbol numbers, you would also know the location within the plant; would you not?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Would it give you any inkling of the scope of the production?

Mr. WALTER. I was supposed to report on the amount of steel, amount of men, and stuff.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, Hood asked you for that information?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you had directly back in your own unit in Bethlehem Steel a group of five?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you knew there were also other groups in Bethlehem Steel. You didn't know the names of them, but you knew they were there?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You also knew there was a Hungarian Communist group in Bethlehem?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have a meeting at Freedland's home, at which more extensive plans were made for operation of the Communist organization?

Mr. WALTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. WALTER. That was in December of 1953. We had that meeting at Mike Freedland's home.

Mr. MORRIS. I didn't hear you.

Mr. WALTER. December of 1953.

Mr. MORRIS. In December of 1953 you had a meeting at Mike Freedland's home?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened then?

Mr. WALTER. There was Joe Roberts and Kusma——

Mr. MORRIS. K-u-s-m-a?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. Harold Allen, myself, Herman Solitrin.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you tell us in executive session that William Powell was there?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was William Powell there?

Mr. WALTER. Power.

Mr. MORRIS. Power. William Power. And was Joseph Roberts there?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You told us now present were Herman Solitrin, Harold Allen, William Power, Joseph Roberts, Joseph Kusma, yourself; and you were meeting at Mike Freedland's home?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Mike Freedland there?

Mr. WALTER. That was supposed to be a steel meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Freedland also present?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. MORRIS. He wasn't there?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Was his wife there?

Mr. WALTER. They were there when we came, but we didn't see them after that at all. They took us down to the cellar.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Freedland a Communist?

Mr. WALTER. As far as I know, but I couldn't prove it myself.

Mr. MORRIS. He wasn't in your unit, in other words?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. MORRIS. But you went to his home; he let you in, led you down to the cellar, and left?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened at that meeting?

Mr. WALTER. We discussed various sections of the steel company, and then this here Joe Kusma, he drew a map of the steel company and asked me what section—if one section of the plant was curtailed, how many men it would affect and how much production it would affect.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you able to give him that information?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. I could help him on that.

Senator HRUSKA. And did he make notations of it on the map, or did he make independent notations?

Mr. WALTER. I tried to get hold of the map, but it was impossible. No. He didn't make no notations.

Senator HRUSKA. Is that the only time you gave him information of that kind?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Did he ask you on any other occasion, or did he seem satisfied with the information which you gave him then?

Mr. WALTER. He asked me what part would be more vital to the steel company. Well, everybody knows a powerplant is a vital spot in a steel company.

Senator HRUSKA. You told him so; did you?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. What about the other departments? Did you give him similar information about the importance of other departments?

Mr. WALTER. Then he wanted to know how many men was working in different departments.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you give him that information?

Mr. WALTER. I could estimate; yes. Sometimes they would agree with me, sometimes they would disagree.

Senator HRUSKA. But you discussed the figures, and between the 3 or 4 of you who were present—is that right?

Mr. WALTER. That is right.

Senator HRUSKA. And each of them had some piece of information about each of the questions that was asked of you?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Were there any other similar meetings held at a later time in which similar information was sought from you?

Mr. WALTER. Well, we always had to report on the conditions in the shop.

Senator HRUSKA. And to whom did you report?

Mr. WALTER. At all the Steel Club meetings. We used to hold a Steel Club meeting once a month.

Senator HRUSKA. And where were those meetings held?

Mr. WALTER. Most of them were held at my place.

Senator HRUSKA. In your home?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. And who was present? Pretty much of the same people you have already named?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Were most of them usually present at each meeting?

Mr. WALTER. Toward the end, Joe Pacucci didn't show up too much.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, there were a number of these meetings. Now, over what period of time, in terms of calendar years, did those meetings occur?

Mr. WALTER. Well, the most meetings were held in 1953. That was the most active year.

Senator HRUSKA. When did they end, approximately?

Mr. WALTER. In 1956.

Senator HRUSKA. They were held off and on, but less frequently after 1953; is that right?

Mr. WALTER. In 1953 was the biggest year, you know, the most meetings held.

Senator HRUSKA. Could you estimate how many meetings were held of that kind in 1953?

Mr. WALTER. Well, at least 12 Steel Club meetings.

Senator HRUSKA. How many?

Mr. WALTER. At least 12 Steel Club meetings. We had them once a month. Then we had—

Mr. MORRIS. May I say at this point that the witness left the Communist Party in 1956, and he will not be able to testify about anything since that time.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, then, how many meetings would you estimate in 1954 of that same body, approximately?

Mr. WALTER. They slowed down pretty much in 1954.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know whether meetings might have been held some place else, not to your knowledge, of that same group?

Mr. WALTER. Not to my knowledge, no.

Senator HRUSKA. But during the meetings which you did hold, those in 1953 and those up to and including 1956, that same type of subject was almost always inquired into, and you were requested to give information of the same kind; is that correct?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. Always.

Senator HRUSKA. Was anything else discussed during those meetings?

Mr. WALTER. Political affairs.

Senator HRUSKA. Like what?

Mr. WALTER. Well, like Francis Walter, always campaigning against him.

Senator HRUSKA. You always campaigned against Francis Walter?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. What about State elections? Were those discussed?

Mr. WALTER. No. At one time they wanted me to get Muldowney to run against Francis Walter. John Muldowney. He is president of local 2599; but I never made the attempt. I told them I did, but I didn't.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, were any strike plans discussed during that time?

Mr. WALTER. There was always strikes discussed at different meetings. There was always—they used to ask me, you know, if I couldn't get the guys together for a wildcat of some type at the plant.

Senator HRUSKA. Of what locals were these persons members? Have you identified that for the record yet?

Mr. WALTER. That was my department. They wanted me to agitate strikes in my department.

Senator HRUSKA. They wanted you to talk up strikes, and vote favorably for them, in case there was a vote thereon?

Mr. WALTER. You know, one of the reports I had to make was grievances and dissatisfaction among the men, you know, like speedups, and things like that, and then he used to suggest, now, couldn't you get the fellows to walk off the job and straighten some of that stuff out?

Mr. MORRS. Now, just one thing. When they were asking about what was the most vital part of the steel company, as far as putting it out of production was concerned, in what context was that?

Mr. WALTER. What was that?

Mr. MORRS. What was the purpose of that, in asking what part of the steel plant—

Mr. WALTER. They never committed themselves on that.

Mr. MORRS. They just wanted to know which was the most vulnerable part?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRS. Now, when you attended meetings of the steel commission, these were entirely different meetings from the ones you just told Senator Hruska about; is that right?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRS. The meeting, you said, were in Philadelphia—of the steel commission?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRS. How many of those did you attend in 1953?

Mr. WALTER. Three.

Mr. MORRS. They were party meetings?

Mr. WALTER. Those were the big meetings.

Mr. MORRS. Did you attend those meetings in 1954?

Mr. WALTER. None in 1954.

Mr. MORRS. How many in 1955?

Mr. WALTER. None in 1955.

Mr. MORRS. Well, were you no longer a member of the steel commission in 1955?

Mr. WALTER. I just don't remember the date that those 11 were exposed by Herman Thomas. That is when the action ceased.

Mr. MORRS. In other words, what was the date of that—

Mr. SHROEDER. May 1954.

Mr. MORRS. Mr. Shroeder tells us in May of 1954 there was testimony by Herman Thomas, which exposed the Steel Commission, and you say from that time on it did not operate?

Mr. WALTER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, where were these meetings of the Steel Commission held?

Mr. WALTER. In Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. Where in Philadelphia?

Mr. WALTER. A fellow by the name of Posov, or something like that. He was a photographer.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you spell it, please?

Mr. WALTER. Posov. I never learned—

Mr. MORRIS. P-o-s-a-t? Is that it?

Mr. WALTER. No. Posov. I think there is a "v" in there.

Mr. MORRIS. Posov—P-o-s-o-v. Where was his place?

Mr. WALTER. On Ford Street in Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. Was it a business establishment or a home?

Mr. WALTER. It was a photographer's place. He was a photographer.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a photographer?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And it was there that the meetings of the Steel Commission were held up until the time it was exposed, in May of 1954?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you ever—did you ever come close to being subpoenaed by a congressional committee in connection with that activity?

Mr. WALTER. There was a lot of subpoenas being given out, so far as I know, on the McCarthy hearings, and Herman Solitrin came over to my house. At the time, we were puzzled how we were going to keep from me being exposed, you know, because I wasn't getting no subpoenas and the others were. So Herman Solitrin came over to the house and solved the problem by offering me \$25 to get away, and duck the subpoena, and I went on a hunting trip then.

Mr. MORRIS. Solitrin gave you \$25 to leave, so you wouldn't be subpoenaed?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Solitrin didn't know?

Mr. WALTER. He first asked me if I had any money, and I told him, "No," which I lied. I mean, if you have too much money they get suspicious of you. And he gave me \$25, and I went up to Saylorsburg to my uncle's place, you know, and stayed there about a week.

Senator HRUSKA. How long did you stay?

Mr. WALTER. One week.

Senator HRUSKA. Was any attempt made later to serve that subpoena on you?

Mr. WALTER. There was nothing served. There was no subpoena, but they figured I should be getting one because they were all getting one.

Senator HRUSKA. And they were just being extra careful; were they?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know of any similar instances of that kind where they induced other people to avoid the service of subpoenas?

Mr. WALTER. The only one I know is Charles Erney. He told me at the plant that he ducked it by going to a doctor, or something. A doctor or hospital, or something like that.

Senator HRUSKA. And it was for the same purpose, avoiding being called to testify?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did Solitrin handle Communist Party funds or anything there?

Mr. WALTER. At times, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his assignment in the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. He took over leadership when Jack Power left, you know.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is Jack Power now?

Mr. WALTER. He went to Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. Generally, after the Blumberg trial, I think you told us, many of these people left, and they are now in Philadelphia?

Mr. WALTER. They all scattered. First Bill Hood. Bill Hood left first, and then Al Heller left next, and then Power left, and then Herman Solitrin. They all went back to Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, while you were in the Communist Party, was there any effort made to make preparations for work underground, to your knowledge?

Mr. WALTER. They had appointed Herman Solitrin and myself to take over leadership in case they would be caught, and Harold Allen, from Easton.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who was this man Erney you told us about in executive session?

Mr. WALTER. Well, he was kicked out of the party.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. WALTER. Charles Erney.

Mr. MORRIS. How do you spell it?

Mr. WALTER. Sometimes they say Charles Erney, and sometimes they say William.

Mr. MORRIS. How do you spell Erney?

Mr. WALTER. E-r-n-e-y.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about his activities?

Mr. WALTER. He used to search the mountains there on his days off, to see how many men could be hidden out in the mountains there.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, that wasn't a formal Communist Party assignment, was it?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. MORRIS. He was doing that on his own?

Mr. WALTER. As far as I know.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us about his searching the mountains for places to hide.

Mr. WALTER. He used to tell me that all his time off he would be in the mountains, and he would find big hiding places where they could hide out so many people, you know. He told me a certain place would maybe take 200 or 300 men, things like that.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you say it was not an assignment, to your knowledge, that was given to him by the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. Not that I know of. That I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. You say he was ultimately expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. He was expelled because he talked too much in bar-rooms.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about the Communist Party in Philadelphia, as you know it?

Mr. WALTER. As I know it?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. In the time you were a Communist. Who was the head of the Communist Party in Philadelphia?

Mr. WALTER. The leaders I knew was that Vic, Blumberg, and Kuzma. Those were the only leaders I knew in Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. They were the only ones you dealt with?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did they operate in Philadelphia?

Mr. WALTER. I don't know where they operated from.

Mr. MORRIS. You met them?

Mr. WALTER. The only place I ever met them was at the photog-rapher's place. That is in Philadelphia. I met them a lot of times in my place, too.

Mr. MORRIS. How many meetings did you attend at the home of David Karol and his wife Harriet?

Mr. WALTER. One.

Mr. MORRIS. Just one meeting?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. That was in 1946, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you didn't have any dealings with them after 1952?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think I have covered all the material we have gone over in executive session. I would like to point out, Senator, that this is just a part of the hearings that we had scheduled for the Philadelphia area. Mr. Walter's experience in the Communist Party was limited, and I have tried to restrict his questioning to that particular period about which he is competent to testify.

Mr. WALTER. They were always playing the role of protecting me, you know, because I was a valuable comrade, and they never let me into the other cells. I wasn't supposed to be known by anybody else. That is the reason my affiliation with them was pretty small.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, they kept you within?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you think it was because they suspected you?

Mr. WALTER. No. They did suspect me once. Bill Hood told me that. They gave me the third degree at Trainor's Hotel one time.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us about that.

Mr. WALTER. Well, Bill Hood visited me at my home one time and he told me, he says that the party thought it was funny that I wasn't being called, you know, and subpoenaed, or anything like that, and that I was under suspicion. And he told me, he says that he put in a word. He says, I don't think he would ever work underground, and so, anyhow it turned out that there was a showdown, you know. This Vic came from Philadelphia especially to give me the third degree, and Herman Solitrin and myself and this Vic were in back of Trainor's Hotel, road stand, you know, and there is where he gave me the questions.

After it was all over, he said, well, I trust you, and then it was only a couple of weeks after that that I was exposed.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you testify at one of the Government trials?

Mr. WALTER. I testified in the Blumberg trial.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you testify there; just about Blumberg, is that right?

Mr. WALTER. Just about Blumberg.

Mr. MORRIS. None of these other things?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no more questions of this witness.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. Thank you for coming, Mr. Walter, and contributing, as you have, to the record of this subcommittee.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I will try to find out when Mr. Solitrin actually will come in to testify.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

The witness is excused, and the meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 10:50 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

(The following article from the publication *Political Affairs* later was ordered into the record:)

[*Political Affairs*, August 1956]

#### ON-THE-SPOT REPORT: THE POLITICAL SCENE IN LOUISIANA

(By Hunter O'Dell)

Louisiana is one of the "Deep South" States and has been so economically, socially, politically, and culturally since admitted into the Union in 1812. Like its neighboring State, Texas, on the west, it has experienced considerable industrialization since the end of World War II; and like its neighbor State, Mississippi, on the east, the hangovers of plantation economy and its slavery-time ideas, customs, and institutions still weigh heavily upon the life of the people of Louisiana.

The growth of the oil, aluminum, chemical, rubber, and other industries over the past 10 years represents more than \$1 billion in capital investments in new plants. Their owners are among the biggest names in northern finance capital: Standard Oil (Rockefeller), with its huge refinery in Baton Rouge; Shell Oil Co., with its more than a quarter million acres under lease in Louisiana; the Freeport Mining Corp. (Morgan), with a monopoly on the mining of sulfur, in which Louisiana is the leading State in the Nation; Kaiser Aluminum; and American Cyanamide—a giant in the chemical industry. These, taken together with the growth in the number of industrial workers in the State, are the new forces in Louisiana's economic life.

Likewise, in the transportation sector of the economy, New Orleans has been for several years the second largest port in the United States, in volume of trade (close to \$2 billion annually) and newly opened port facilities at Baton Rouge represent an important step toward developing Louisiana's 1,500 mile system of inland waterways. An overall result, as this industrialization continues, has been the growing urbanization of Louisiana's population. Today Louisiana is one of the three Southern States most of whose population (51 percent) lives in cities or rural towns (the other two States are Texas and Florida).

#### BACKGROUND OF RECENT GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS

During this period of economic development, the labor movement, the Negro people, working farmers, and small business and professional people, have had some bitter experiences which have contributed to their maturity in the political life of this State.

The labor movement has fought some bitter strikes in the shipyards, paper mills, sugar refineries and plantations, and clothing factories. These strikes were called for the most elementary demands, such as the right to "union recognition," as in the case of the farm-labor strike on the sugar plantations, or for "equal pay for equal work, North and South," as was the case in the Chrysler, Godchaux Sugar, and Bell Telephone strikes. Recently, the antilabor

forces in the State legislature pushed through the right-to-work bill (1954), as well as police-State segregation measures which aimed to divide and weaken the labor movement.

The toiling farmers have experienced a 15-percent decline in their income over the past 5 years; the 12-percent drop in the number of farms in the State points to the large numbers that are being pushed off the land completely. The Dixiecrat legislature increased the market taxes for small produce farmers, while floods in the rice-growing areas in the west and drought and insect plagues in the north-central parishes were met with a "too little and too late" program by the Kennon administration.

Among the Negro people, struggles for the right to vote came under sharp attack. A driving force in this movement is the new political awakening among the Negro rural population. (Important in this regard is the whole series of parishes (counties) along the river, from East Carroll in the north to St. Helena in the east and St. Landry in the west, which makes up part of the lower Mississippi Valley, 1 of the 3 great concentrations of Negro majority population in the South, having a common economic life, since long before the Civil War).

The important bus boycott in Baton Rouge in the summer of 1953 foreshadowed the present historic struggle in Montgomery, Ala. And with the victory represented in the Supreme Court desegregation decision, the Negro people were faced with an arrogant Dixiecrat legislature, which proceeded to appropriate \$100,000 to fight that decision. In both the economic boycott movement and the registration movement the splendid organizational ability shown by the Negro trade unionists is an important new feature and experience for the Negro people.

During this recent period, especially since 1952, the Dixiecrats have passed legislation aimed at tightening their political control of the State by restricting the rights of other political parties. An example is the "Communist registration bill" which outlaws the Communist Party and requires its members to register with the police, carrying with it, whether they do so or not, the penalty of 10 to 20 years in prison.

#### THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The lineup of candidates in the recent gubernatorial elections (January 1956) was as follows:

**Fred Preus:** A north Louisiana auto dealer and Baptist Sunday-school teacher who has served on the State public service commission (transportation and utilities). He entered the race as the preferred candidate of the dominant section of the oil interests and its political representatives, the machine (Delta Democratic Association) of incumbent Governor Kennon, a Dixiecrat. He was also supported by a section of the big construction firms, because of his allegiance to Kennon's \$50 million roadbuilding program.

**James McLemore:** A cattle-raising plantation landlord from Alexandria, bordering the black belt. He differed from all other candidates in the viciously racist manner in which he utilized the Negro question. Declaring himself to be the "white man's candidate," he pledged to make Louisiana the rallying center of all "citizen-council" type forces in the South. He represented the plantation landlords, as a class—the "mailed fist" Dixiecrats.

**C. Grevemberk:** Formerly superintendent of State police in the Kennon administration, he resigned to enter the race. Ever since 1952, he has been groomed by a section of the oil interests to succeed Kennon as Governor. With demagogic appeal directed to the churchgoing population, he campaigned as the "clean government" candidate, against "crime and corruption." For 2 years prior to these elections he has been building up his candidacy by carrying out raids against gambling houses, and breaking up slot machines. This was meant to capture the attention of the Baptists in particular while he himself is a Roman Catholic. When the Communist Registration Act was passed in Louisiana, as head of the police, he publicly threatened to lock up all the "reds."

**De Lesseps ("Chep") Morrison:** Thrice-elected mayor of New Orleans. His personal ambition to be Governor was supplemented by the support from shipping interests centered around the New Orleans Cotton Exchange; a section of the big construction firms, whom he had favored with lucrative contracts in New Orleans; the liberal, urban middle class, including some Negro voters, who regarded him as being "cosmopolitan," and therefore an asset as Governor; and a section of the labor movement, primarily because several members of his ticket had voted against the right-to-work bill, and those who had

voted for it had been dropped from the ticket. He became the preferred candidate of Dixiecrat reaction in the later stages of the campaign when it became obvious Kennon was not going to be able to swing the election for Preus, and that, consequently, Morrison was the "only man who can force Long into a runoff." Almost overnight, the newspapers all over the State began to campaign for Morrison. He started off with a relatively mild, separate-but-equal position on the Negro question, but later accepted the endorsement of the lynch-sheriff from the parish of West Feliciana (St. Francisville), where Negroes are still not allowed to vote, though 82 percent of the population. He also endorsed the program of the "southern gentlemen," a KKK-type secret organization. Morrison is also a Catholic, and this was a source of some support, although the Catholic Church in New Orleans is officially playing a very commendable part in the growing movement to carry out the Supreme Court desegregation decisions. Since the elections, Mayor Morrison's servile invitation to the Eastland committee to hold "hearing on communism" in New Orleans proved to be a smokescreen for attacking the growing desegregation movement and to promote the activities of the "white citizens councils" mobs, of which Eastland is the chief national spokesman.

Earl K. Long: Twice-elected Governor, brother of the late Huey Long, uncle of United States Senator Russell Long. His was an anti-Dixiecrat coalition which even included the chief gamblers in the State, but based itself on poor farmers and the Negro people, with labor giving general support, but officially concentrating on legislative candidates. He attacked the Dixiecrats' policies by promising the people greater benefits from tidelands oil revenues. He had the Long tradition of having "kept their promises"—free hot lunches, better textbooks, increased old-age pensions, and no increase in taxes.

The gamblers were secret supporters—but this element has traditionally played a big part in Louisiana politics (ever since formation of the State lottery in 1870).

Long also made an issue of the bureaucracy associated with the Kennon administration and raised the slogan that he would "not hide behind any boards"—meaning anyone could get to see him as Governor if he wished to do so.

In the latter days of the campaign, Long declared he would sign a bill repealing the "right-to-work" law if the legislature would pass it.

More than in any other southern State (according to V. O. Kery's study, *Southern Politics*), factions and groupings that develop in the Louisiana Democratic Party tend to take on full programmatic and organizational form ("tickets") nearly comparable to the two-party system in States outside the South. This is one of the most basic features of Louisiana politics. It serves as a guide to a sound analysis of the differences between the Long and anti-Long groupings as seen in the recent elections and the significance of these two "camps" currently in the Louisiana Democratic Party.

The Dixiecrats succeeded in getting incumbent Attorney General Fred LeBlanc endorsed for reelection on three tickets (that of Morrison, Preus and McLe more) since this State office is so important in their fight against Supreme Court decisions. The gang-up in support of LeBlanc made possible a second primary race for this office, but when the Long ticket won a majority on the 101-member State central committee, that body proceeded to interpret the rules of the Louisiana Democratic Party to cancel the runoff and declare the Long candidate, Gremillion, duly elected attorney general. The latter had only a plurality vote.

#### ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE ELECTIONS

Organized labor was more active in this campaign than at any time in the last 15 years. While it officially endorsed none of the gubernatorial candidates, it concentrated on defeating those legislators who had voted for the right-to-work bill in the last legislature. To this end labor carried on a vigorous and quite successful campaign. Slates of labor-endorsed candidates, based upon their voting record on this question, were issued in all congressional districts, by the CIO-PAC and the AFL-LLPE. And in a few instances, labor candidates were put forward with the official backing of their unions. Thus, Nicholas Lapara, a member of the New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council, was elected to the legislature from the 10th ward; the Communications Workers of America, CIO, who conducted the Bell Telephone strike, ran Hugo Bode for the legislature from New Orleans' big third ward, but he was unsuccessful. However, what must be emphasized is that labor concentrated on defeating incumbent right-to-work candi-

dates rather than concentrating on putting forward their own candidates. So, in many cases labor supported candidates whose voting records on many issues was very poor, but who were sound on the question of repeal.

#### THE NEGRO PEOPLE

This election campaign was marked by a level of political activity on the part of the Negro people unequalled in this century. The 155,000 Negro registered voters represented the largest Negro electorate in the State since 1896, when the last Negro legislators were defeated and a new "white supremacist" State constitution was written. This present registration represents a 55-percent increase over 1952.

Inspired by the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions, encouraged by the Bandung Conference, and determined that there shall be "no Emmett Till case in Louisiana," the Negro people developed a variety of organizational forms through which they developed the registration movements. These included voters leagues, civic leagues, labor-sponsored registration schools, special campaigns led by sorority women, taxpayers' leagues, "Voters' Sunday" called by the Ministerial Alliance, etc.

As election day approached it became clear that the Negro vote would be a balance of power in any close gubernatorial race. This had its effect in the way the Negro question was handled by various candidates. All candidates began to softpedal this question—with the exception of McLemore, who began to intensify his appeal to the most backward sections of the population on a "white supremacy" platform. He "accused" both Long and Kennon of having aided the increase in Negro registration. This is of more than just passing importance because it points up the growing conflict between the giant industrial monopolies (represented by a Kennon in Louisiana) and their "junior partners," the plantation landlords, over tactical differences in handling the Negro question. At least a section of the industrial monopolies appear ready to agree to certain limited democratic reforms (such as the right to vote) in order to strengthen their overall economic position; while the plantation landlords, as a class more closely tied to agriculture and its semifuedal institutions, fight against even the smallest democratic reforms.

The outstanding candidacy in the whole election picture was that of Earl J. Amedee, a Negro attorney, an independent candidate for State attorney general. Mr. Amedee was the only candidate for attorney general who came out squarely for a repeal of the right-to-work bill. Though lacking the funds and other material resources required for a statewide campaign, and relying upon volunteer workers, Mr. Amedee conducted a very vigorous campaign in at least half of the parishes of the State. His program advocated upholding the Supreme Court decision, repeal of all State laws in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and the right to vote for 18-year-olds in the State. His campaign was warmly greeted by the Negro people, despite the fact that there was some objection to his candidacy from certain sections of Negro leadership. In some Negro precincts in the State he received a 7-to-1 vote over his nearest opponent; he ran third in the field of 6 candidates in New Orleans. And though unity was not fully achieved around his candidacy in the Negro people's movement, nevertheless Mr. Amedee received more than 60,000 votes, which is the highest vote received by any Negro candidate in the South in recent years.

For the first time in this century Negro candidates ran for office in the rural areas, in some places where 4 years ago the right to vote had not yet been won. These candidates ran for posts on the executive committee of the Democratic Party in the various parishes. While none was successful, nevertheless this is an important new development in the political life of the Negro people, as well as for the Democratic forces as a whole, in the State. In both the general registration movement and the Amedee campaign, in particular, note must be taken of the outstanding work done by Negro women, who showed splendid leadership qualities, giving further proof that the women are a vital force in the Negro freedom cause.

The high point of the cooperation between labor and the Negro people in this election was achieved in the support given to Mr. Amedee by the "union ticket" in St. John the Baptist Parish, where the Godchaux strike had been fought for 8 months prior to the elections. In this parish, Mr. Amedee ran second in a field of six candidates with the endorsement of the union ticket.

Unlike the 1952 elections, the Negro people are, today, a political force in Louisiana, and this fact offers a sound basis for placing before the Long administration the demand for greater Negro representation in appointed posts in State and local government.

#### ELECTION RESULTS

Earl Long won the election with a 20,000 majority vote over all candidates, with an unprecedented 800,000 (80 percent of the registered voters) going to the polls. For the first time in 25 years the Long forces carried the cities—Lake Charles, Shreveport, and Baton Rouge—and lost New Orleans by only 2,000 votes out of a 200,000 registration. Parishes of Negro majority population, which had traditionally been anti-Long, due to the political domination of the big planters and the disfranchisement of the Negro and poor white farmers, swung to Long overwhelmingly in this election. Long carried 62 parishes; Morrison carried 1 parish (Orleans); Preus carried 1 parish (Plaquemine).

McLemore, the extreme racist candidate, finished last with 13,000 fewer votes than the Negro candidate for attorney general, Earl Amedee. Furthermore, in these elections the 25-year rule by Sheriff Frank Clancy's machine, in Jefferson Parish, was ended; and the machine of national Dixiecrat leader Leander Perez, was seriously weakened in Plaquemine and St. Bernard Parishes.

Along with these developments, very momentous was the defeat of a number of particularly reactionary legislators, including Horace Wilkerson II, a big sugar-plantation owner from West Baton Rouge Parish, who as chairman of the senate agriculture committee, had steered the right-to-work bill through that body; Charles Duchein, an insurance corporation executive, from East Baton Rouge, who cast a decisive vote for the right-to-work bill in the senate labor committee during the 1954 meeting of the legislature; Kenneth Cagle, a representative of the oil and gas monopolies from Lake Charles (Calcasien Parish), who authored the "Communist registration bill" and also a leading right-to-work advocate in the senate. The defeat of these and many others created a new relationship of forces in the State legislature favorable to the repeal of the right-to-work bill and the passage of other much-needed reform legislation.

At this writing the State legislature in session has passed a compromise repeal of the right-to-work bill and is the first State legislature in the South to do so. Further, the new old-age pension checks, \$65 a month, are already in effect and other measures promised by the Long administration are underway.

Any rounded analysis of these elections must take note of the defeat of the two outstanding legislators from New Orleans; Mrs. Bland C. Bruns and Bernard T. Engert. Both had very good voting records and were widely known and respected for their principled conduct in the legislature, being firm in their support of the Supreme Court desegregation decisions and of labor's demands.

Mrs. Bruns, a housewife who was Louisiana's only elected woman legislator, and by far the most progressive legislator in the house, moved up into the senate race. The incumbent senator had voted against the right-to-work bill, so on that basis alone he secured labor's backing for reelection; Engert's opponent was an official of the central trades and labor council (AFL).

Both Mrs. Bruns and Engert were on the Morrison ticket, and the Long landslide proved too strong for them. Both of these contests were decided in a second primary.

The sum total of these developments would seem to justify the conclusion that the recent gubernatorial elections in Louisiana represented a popular political upsurge by the Democratic majority of the Louisiana population against the policies and the economic consequences of Dixiecrat and machine-rule politics. This was a landslide majority vote for a new State administration and for a candidate whose family name, Long, has been identified for many years in the minds of Louisiana's working population as one which would keep its promises to show greater concern for their general welfare at the expense of the monopolies and the planters, so obediently served by the Dixiecrats of the Kennon-Perez-McLemore type. This popular upsurge was marked by an increase in the independent political action of organized labor and the Negro people, acting separately. The fuller cooperation between these two powerful democratic sections of our population, working together to develop their independent political activities, will provide a firm basis for a broader regrouping of democratic forces within the Louisiana Democratic Party. This will isolate the un-American, anti-labor Dixiecrats, reduce the sinister influence of these slavocratic-minded elements in the life of our State, and place the majority of Louisiana's people

upon the road of democratic progress—higher living standards, full constitutional rights, and greater cultural opportunities.

This election victory has created a deep-going political crisis in Dixiecrat rule in Louisiana. The Dixiecrats are desperately seeking a way out by pushing through the legislature a deluge of Hitler-type racial segregation laws which aim not only at preserving the divide-and-rule pattern and intensifying the oppression of the Negro people, but also violate those elementary norms of human decency which are recognized by civilized humanity the world over.

#### MAIN WEAKNESSES IN THE ELECTION ACTIVITIES

In comparision with elections in the past, the high level of independent political activity by the labor movement in this election is of great significance. Because the labor movement is a growing and healthy social influence, it is able to review its activities in a critical way in order to correct shortcomings and profit from these experiences.

During the campaign, Louisiana labor repeatedly declared, and correctly so, that its survival depended upon greater political activity. In line with this new outlook, Louisiana labor will find it necessary to reexamine its relations with other organized sections of the population, which have traditionally supported labor's program. First among these is the highly organized Negro people, who make up 40 percent of the population. The outstanding weakness shown by the labor movement in this election was that it made no appeal to the Negro people for mutual cooperation for common election goals. This despite the fact that the Negro people and their organizations displayed many examples of initiative and understanding of the importance of the fight to repeal the right-to-work law, while never losing sight of their just demands for equal rights and desegregation and the significance of these demands to democratic progress for all working people.

It is a matter of public record that the chief right-to-work bill promoter, Senator Rainach, is also the chief segregationist in the Louisiana Senate; and his counterpart in the house, John Garret, hails from the Claiborne Parish where the Negro people have not really won the right to vote, even though they are a majority of the population. It is a matter of public record that the big planter, Horace Wilkerson II, a rabid antilabor Dixiecrat, was defeated by the Negro vote in the 18th senatorial district. It is a matter of public record that the same legislature that passed the right-to-work bill in 1954 passed a whole series of segregation laws which aim to defy the Constitution of the United States, the Supreme Court decision, and intensify the Jim Crow oppression of the Negro people. The anti-Negro and the antilabor forces are the same.

The lingering of white supremacy views among the leaders of the trade unions and the adoption of expedient methods of political activity which isolate labor from the Negro people will accomplish for the labor movement absolutely nothing. As long as this division between labor and the Negro people exists the Dixiecrat enemies of both will be able to outmaneuver both, granting a concession here and taking away a right there. It is this growing understanding in the labor movement, nationally, which accounts for the firm antidiscrimination resolutions passed at recent conventions of such unions as textile and packinghouse, both of which have a large southern membership.

The second weakness, which has shown itself in labor's post-election activity during the current session of the new State legislature, is the compromise right-to-work repeal which permitted the Dixiecrats to keep the right-to-work chain around the necks of the agricultural laborers, while repealing the right-to-work bill for the rest of the labor movement.

The farm laborers in Louisiana are a militant, democratic section of our population. Their history-making strike on the sugar plantations in the fall of 1953 was a demonstration that they were ready, willing, and able to take their place in the front ranks of the labor movement in struggle for a better life for all. In the recent elections these very agricultural workers defeated half of the right-to-work legislators in the nine Sugar Belt parishes. In doing so, did these workers not play an honorable role that made some kind of a repeal possible? Louisiana labor will find it necessary in its own self-interest to return to the time-honored principles of organized labor that, "an injury to one is an injury to all." The pattern of Dixiecratism is clear; first to divide labor from the Negro people, then to divide labor within itself, in terms of urban versus rural.

Full repeal of the right-to-work bill—that is the basis upon which organized labor can hope to survive and grow in Louisiana.

Finally, a measure of Louisiana labor's political growth is its ability to adopt its own clearly defined, public attitude towards the Long administration. This attitude takes into account all that is positive, but at the same time is not uncritical and does not give the Long administration a "blank check." The Long administration will respond to organized efforts by labor and its other democratic supporters. But it is by no means simon pure, and note should be taken of the fact that the Dixiecrats are jockeying for positions within the Long administration. A case in point is the fact that Governor Long has appointed McLemore chairman of a board that supervises and acts as custodian of voting machines. We remember that during the elections, McLemore waged a consistent attack against both Long and Kennon, charging them with being responsible for a rise in the number of Negro registered voters. And the current efforts by the Dixiecrats toward the wholesale removal of Negro voters from the registration lists, up in Monroe, is a direct outgrowth of McLemore and his citizen council campaigners. The McLemores throughout the South today are the foes of democratic progress; they represent the mentality of a dying order, and McLemore's appointment to this post in the Long administration is a menace to the rights of all and should be met with the widest protest from all democratic sections of the population.

One of the first issues with which Louisiana labor and all believers in democracy should confront the Long administration is the need to lift the ban placed upon the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by the Dixiecrat Kennon administration. The National AFL-CIO fully support the NAACP and its program as do many State labor bodies, including the Texas State CIO. The courageous union members at Godchaux sugar refinery can tell us plenty about the attorney general, LeBlanc, who outlawed the NAACP.

Every working person in Louisiana who has regard for his own liberty, should ask Governor Long to restore to the NAACP its legal right to function in our State.

#### CONCLUSION

The stage is set for some great changes in the life of the people of our State and these changes, if effected, will have a major impact on the South and on the Nation as a whole. There is nothing in our southern traditions that demands that we maintain a way-of-life which has meant for us working people the highest per capita taxes in the Nation, the skimpiest returns of the fruits of our labor, the least democracy, and the lowest place on the literacy pole.

The strengthening of the Louisiana labor movement through the recent merger of the State AFL and CIO; the growing Negro freedom movement, confident in the justice of its cause; and the compelling needs for struggle by the working farm population in response to the growing agricultural crisis, are the democratic class and national forces that will make the much-needed changes in the situation possible. Only the organized, united intervention by this democratic majority, which elected the Long administration, can guarantee the fulfillment of campaign promises, representing as they do minimum demands. This can be followed up with an effective offensive against Dixiecratism and its policy of neglect of the people's needs.

Out of these struggles, we envisage the birth of a new political form suitable to, and necessary for, Louisiana's democratic majority to fully express its political will, and achieve its aspirations for peace, security, and democratic rights in harmony with the majority in our country.



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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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## HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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JULY 23, 1957

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PART 74

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1958

Boston Public Library  
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BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:20 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William A. Rusher, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director, and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Mr. MORRIS. Will Mr. William Wallace come up, please?

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WALLACE. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM A. WALLACE, MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Wallace was a little late in getting here this morning. He was called for 10 minutes to 10, and notified us that he would be a little late.

Mr. Wallace, you are known as Bill Wallace, are you not?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I am.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside? Do you have any objection to putting your residence into the record?

Mr. WALLACE. No, I don't.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you give us your address, then?

Mr. WALLACE. 173 Washington Street, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Wallace?

Mr. WALLACE. New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us something of your early educational background?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, I went to grammar school and high school. I quit high school at 13. Then I went into an achievement test and got a credit for high-school years. That is about it—and special training in the Army.

Mr. MORRIS. You served in the Armed Forces, did you not?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. In what capacity?

Mr. WALLACE. I was a sergeant, and quartermaster, and liaison with military government in Germany.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first get mixed up with the Communists, Mr. Wallace?

Mr. WALLACE. In 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us the circumstances.

Mr. WALLACE. Well, in 1947 I started working in the Singer shop. At the time I started working in the Singer Sewing Machine Shop in Elizabeth, one of the officers from the union there got me interested in the Progressive Party and, in 1949, I was elected the chairman of the Union County Progressive Party.

At that time, I was approached by—

Mr. MORRIS. You were made chairman of the Progressive Party?

Mr. WALLACE. In 1948.

Mr. MORRIS. Of what jurisdiction?

Mr. WALLACE. Of the Union County Progressive Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Union County, N. J.?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. That is in Elizabeth, N. J.

One of the women approached me—I saw her approach with a new car, and I admired it. She said, "You can have the same thing, a new car. You can prevent the worries of living, and so on, if you belong with the right people."

So I said, "What is the right people?"

She said, "Well, look, you have been doing a good job in the Singer plant; you are a steward. I have heard a lot about you. The right people is the Communist Party. Not only will you benefit from it personally, but you will benefit the members of your race and the working people by having a broader avenue in which to work."

I told her I was for it, so she said, "Well, somebody will be in contact with you within a few days, and then you tell them."

Mr. MORRIS. Who was she, Mr. Wallace?

Mr. WALLACE. That was Clara Dolgow.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that spelled D-o-l-g-o-w?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, it is.

Mr. MORRIS. This is now approximately what time?

Mr. WALLACE. Around January of 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. Was somebody in touch with you shortly thereafter?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, the Union County organizer for the Communist Party approached me around February of 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. WALLACE. Offhand, I don't remember. Right now. I know he lived in Roselle, on Rivington Street.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that Mr. Ensel?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; Bob Ensel.

Mr. MORRIS. Spelled E-n-s-e-l?

Mr. WALLACE. That is right.

I know he approached me around February, and told me he had been in touch with Clara Dolgow about my wanting to join the party. He told me I would have certain requirements to do before I could become a party member. That is, I would have to attend private meetings with him for a few weeks to learn what the party was all about—learn how I fitted into the party and the securities of the party.

Mr. MORRIS. The securities of the party?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What do you mean by that?

Mr. WALLACE. That you don't go around talking about being a party member, how to meet other party members, how to avoid the ordinary person finding out that you are a party member because—well, there was the Smith Act, there was the FBI to consider. There were people who were unfriendly to the party to consider. So these security measures had to be taken.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your first Communist Party assignment after this period of indoctrination you told me about?

Mr. WALLACE. After that period, I was then assigned to the Singer Club, which was then confined to about 12 members. At my first meeting, there was the Singer Club. Then they broke it down to two clubs, which were the Singer Club and the Union County Club. I became a part of the Singer Club, which was named after the Singer Sewing Machine Shop.

Mr. MORRIS. You then worked for Singer Sewing Machine Co.?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the people in the Singer Sewing Machine Club?

Mr. WALLACE. Louis Schuman was chairman of the Singer Sewing Machine Club. Then there was Walter Poleshuck. There was Archie Cole. He was the international representative of the union.

Mr. MORRIS. What do you mean by that?

Mr. WALLACE. International representative.

Mr. MORRIS. That is C-o-l-e?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

There was Martha Stone. She was from the State. She was assigned to the club to give us instructions, keep an eye on the club and steer the club right.

There was a fellow named Al Lipari. He was in the club.

Mr. MORRIS. How did this particular club function? Was this an organized group of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. There were 5 of us who were actual workers from Singer's and we would meet every 2 weeks. One hour of the meeting would be devoted to discussing the affairs and problems of the union with Singer's. The other hour of the meeting would be devoted to studying the Manifesto, the Daily Worker, and learning all about the party—Stalinism and Leninism.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have anything to do with organizing the Singer Sewing Machine strike in Elizabeth?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, I was a steward in the shop, in Department 21. I also was an executive board member in the local union. Before the strike happened, we discussed in party meetings, the possibility of a strike. We discussed what was going on in negotiations and how the party members within the shop could influence those negotiations.

An instance of that was one of my assignments from the party. I was supposed to raise a disturbance in front of the main office of the Singer Co.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, the Communist Party gave you instructions to do that?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, while negotiations were going on, so that I gathered a group of workers together during a lunch hour and went up in back of the cafeteria, and started a disturbance by yelling and sounding off, "We want more pay." It was just a propaganda thing right on company property. That was my job and I did it.

Well, these things were happening all throughout the plant—you know, through party instructions. We accomplished our purpose.

We also discussed the negotiations in the party meetings. The necessity of this strike was that long before I had gotten to work in Singer's, they had introduced a form or a system of work that was called standards. Now, that system of work meant that the workers received a basic day's pay. All over that day's pay, all that they could produce over a certain amount they would receive a bonus for. But that meant that the workers would have to work faster.

Senator HRUSKA. Did that plan have a name? What did they call that plan?

Mr. WALLACE. They called that the standards system. It meant that the workers would have to work faster to make more money. Well, the workers were for it, and they were making more money.

Mr. MORRIS. How much did the workers make, under that plan?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, for instance, in the foundry the workers were making anywhere from \$100 to \$140 a week making molds. It ran like this: The man on the molds, if he made more money and made more molds, then the fellow who was on the shakeout upstairs, cleaning those molds, he would make more money, too. So that actually, from the bottom up, all the workers were making more money. The party decided to call this a "speedup."

Mr. MORRIS. The Communist Party?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

The party said the company was speeding the workers up needlessly. It was our responsibility to stop this speed-up program.

In our party meeting, the reason given why we had to stop this speedup program was that the Korean war was starting to happen at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. When was this strike?

Mr. WALLACE. The strike was in 1949. And all this—

Mr. MORRIS. But the Korean war wasn't until June of 1950.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, but the aspects, the beginning—Red China, the beginning of the Korean war, the cold war—were all in 1949, too. So that we had discussed it in this light, that people were then saying that Russia was to blame for everything. We had to show that Russia was not to blame, that the United States was to blame in this respect: they were building up the cold war. They were building up the problems in Red China and in Korea. The speedup program of making war materials was all part of this program that our company was working on, a program of speeding the work up to make war materials.

Now, if we could stop this speedup program in Singer's, we could stop it throughout the entire country.

Mr. MORRIS. May I break in there? Is it your testimony that this was not really a legitimate trade-union strike—in other words, something for the benefit of the workers—but, because of this buildup that you sensed was coming against the Soviet Union, it was a political strike in a sense; is that the meaning of your testimony?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; it is.

So that Singer's was going to be the guinea pig. We were going to break this speedup system in Singer's and then, using the workers of Singer's to show we did it in Singer's, we could do it every place else throughout our union. If we did it throughout our union, we could then go into General Motors; we could go into rubber; we could go into steel, and do the same identical thing by showing it had been done.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were making these statements?

Mr. WALLACE. This was made by Martha Stone.

Mr. MORRIS. She, you say, is a State official of the Communist Party in New Jersey?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who else was saying these things?

Mr. WALLACE. This was also discussed by—well, Martha Stone gave us the kickoff on it. Then Walter Barry—he was one of our international representatives—took it up. Then Louis Schuman, and then we took it up as we went into the shop.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you identify these people?

Mr. WALLACE. Barry was an international representative of the union.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his first name?

Mr. WALLACE. Walter.

Mr. MORRIS. His last name is B-a-r-r-y?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; he is.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Schuman?

Mr. WALLACE. Schuman was the chairman of the Singer Co. Club.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, all Communists in the Singer Co., were they all in the Singer Sewing Machine Club of the party?

Mr. WALLACE. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us about that.

Mr. WALLACE. Within this Singer Club, you had three different party groups. You had the Singer Club; you had the Union County Club. Then you had the LYL, which was the youth group.

Mr. MORRIS. Labor Youth League?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. So you had these three groups within the Singer Sewing Machine plant.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if, at this point, you will tell us what was the general strength of the Communist Party in Union and Essex Counties in New Jersey, in the period that you were a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. Within the New Jersey area, within every shop that we had within our union, we had a party club. Every major shop. We had a party club. The major shops within our area—we had at least 10 or 12 in New Jersey.

Mr. MORRIS. Twelve shops?

Mr. WALLACE. Twelve major shops. I mean shops like Singer, like F. T. & T.—Federal Tel—Westinghouse. Within the New York area we had another 30 or 40 shops, large shops.

We had Emerson within the New Jersey area, but actually it belonged to the New York locals. We had Telecon—so we had quite a few major shops.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you have your Communist clubs in the major shops, in addition to the minor shops?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. We either had the Communist Party clubs or the LYL—the youth group—which took their instructions and took their orders from the party itself. Because I, personally, met with the LYL groups to give them guidance and steering on how to operate within their shops.

Mr. MORRIS. They were Communists, were they not?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, they were.

Senator HRUSKA. Were they limited as to age for membership in the LYL group?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; up to 18 to 25.

Mr. MORRIS. How extensive would you say the Communist Party was, within the area of Union and Essex Counties, which was the area surrounding the Singer strike?

Mr. WALLACE. I would say we had over a thousand members.

Mr. MORRIS. Communist Party members?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; we had over a thousand members within the New York-New Jersey area.

Mr. MORRIS. How about this area we are talking about?

Mr. WALLACE. In the New Jersey area itself, we had—I would say between 150 and 200 members.

Mr. MORRIS. Just in those counties?

Mr. WALLACE. Just in those counties.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about the strike you were telling us about when I broke in to get an estimate of what Communist Party strength was? What was your role in it?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, before I give you my role, as far as actual work—well, after we had discussed it and discussed the fact that the strike had to happen—we couldn't settle; it had to happen. It was just a must, that it must happen.

We then figured out how we were going to get a strike vote. First, we moved among the members in the shop and told them that they had to vote for the strike, building up on the fact that the company had only offered 2 cents. We then went into the strike vote in the armory, and we were moving among the membership as the vote was taken—we would move among the membership, telling them, "Vote, 'Yes' for a strike."

Then when the strike did happen, it was a secret ballot vote at that time. When the strike did happen—we figured out before what responsibilities we had and how to hold these people out on strike. The responsibilities of feeding, taking care of the people, keeping them to a minimum—well, taken care of so that they would have no gripes, and how we could utilize the party, the Progressive Party, all the front organizations, and move among the city officials to keep the strike going, because we figured at that time it had to be a long strike, because we had to break this incentive system. We had to break that down. This is what we went on to accomplish.

Senator HRUSKA. How long did the strike last?

Mr. WALLACE. About 6 months.

Senator HRUSKA. What dates?

Mr. WALLACE. It lasted from June to—oh, it was after September. June to October or November.

**Senator HRUSKA.** Did it affect only the Singer Co., or did it affect other companies, as well?

**Mr. WALLACE.** It only affected the Singer Co., but it had far-reaching effects on the city of Elizabeth.

**Senator HRUSKA.** What were some of those effects?

**Mr. WALLACE.** Well, for instance, it cost the people in the community who did not work in Singer's—it cost them money, even in Newark.

For instance, we swelled the relief rolls. People we didn't take care of, we would demand that they get on relief. When the relief people said they couldn't take care of them, we would then send delegations up to see them and demand and put pressure on them, until we got relief for the people. That meant it cost more money to the people of Elizabeth.

We then used the facilities of the city of Elizabeth—for instance, schools. We used the schools to put on a welfare program where we sold food in the stores, and like that.

**Mr. MORRIS.** You say "we." You mean Communists?

**Mr. WALLACE.** No. Let me explain something there.

That wasn't exactly Communists. Once the Communist Party had given the direction on this whole thing, we then went into the background, and I became chairman of the welfare committee. But then we let ordinary people, who weren't Communists, take the brunt of it because—well, I may be identified as a Communist Party member, but Joe Blow who was going to see the mayor may not be identified as a Communist Party member.

So that, to all outward appearances, the Communist Party wasn't directing it.

**Mr. MORRIS.** But, actually, you were directing it?

**Mr. WALLACE.** Yes, actually we were.

**Mr. MORRIS.** Senator Hruska, our information, after we had a discussion with Mr. Wallace, was that this strike lasted for 168 days, ending on October 17, 1949. The companies lost \$24 million. The union lost—its members did not get their salaries—\$10 million, and the merchants in Elizabeth were estimated to have lost \$20 million. In other words, the strike cost \$54 million to those groups of people.

**Mr. WALLACE.** That is true.

**Mr. MORRIS.** Did it virtually bring the whole economy of the city of Elizabeth to a standstill?

**Mr. WALLACE.** Yes, it did, because the Singer Sewing Machine plant is one of the main industries—is the main industry of the city of Elizabeth.

**Senator HRUSKA.** How many were employed there at the time?

**Mr. WALLACE.** Nine thousand.

**Mr. MORRIS.** How long did you engage in actual work for the Communist Party, of this nature, Mr. Wallace?

**Mr. WALLACE.** I stayed with the Communist Party from 1949 until 1955.

**Mr. MORRIS.** Now, at any time, did you actually leave the party and work for the FBI?

**Mr. WALLACE.** Yes, I did.

**Mr. MORRIS.** When did that take place?

**Mr. WALLACE.** In 1952 I got a change of heart, and started seeing things in a different light. I started working with the FBI in November of 1952.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you work with the FBI?

Mr. WALLACE. I stayed with the FBI until 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. What caused your terminating your relationship with the party?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, at that time, because of the Communist Party's move to infiltrate into other unions, I, in working with the FBI at that time decided my security was involved—my personal security, at that time—so I left the union.

In leaving the union, there was no more activity for me with the Communist Party, and I became just another ordinary citizen.

Mr. MORRIS. How much training did you have as a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, I had been trained as a Communist Party member from 1949 right up until 1955, as far as organizing, as far as knowing how to analyze situations. I am quite sure that I really ranked at that time as a party member.

Senator HRUSKA. What did that training consist of?

Mr. WALLACE. How to take 1 or 2 people, how to get my ideas from the party at my party meetings, and then go into a shop and completely upset a shop of hundreds of workers, and get them to do as I wanted them to do. This was possible.

If the party told me that we had to have a meeting, we had to have a delegation in Washington at such-and-such a date, then it was my responsibility to go into that shop, convince the workers to give money, those workers who would send a delegation to Washington on some issue or another.

This was possible for me to do, because I have done it.

Senator HRUSKA. Where did you get this training?

Mr. WALLACE. In my party club meeting.

Senator HRUSKA. Any place else?

Mr. WALLACE. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You went to Moscow, didn't you, Mr. Wallace?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. You didn't have any training over there?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, over there I went to school. It was more talking than anything else. It wasn't actual operation; more talking on how to do it, but the actual operations took place here.

Mr. MORRIS. Who arranged for your trip to Moscow?

Mr. WALLACE. The president of my union.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. WALLACE. James McLeish.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there a man named Charles Velson who is an organizer for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union involved? In other words, the Bridges union? Did he have anything to do with that?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Charley Velson did the actual planning of the trip and saw that I went. James McLeish was the person who supplied the finances for me to go, and picked me as the one to go.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you go to Moscow?

Mr. WALLACE. I went to Moscow in 1951.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay there?

Mr. WALLACE. I stayed in Moscow a month. My whole trip was a month.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with the various Communist activities that you engaged in, Martha Stone was the overall superior?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. For your information, Senator, Martha Stone was one of the Smith Act defendants in Connecticut.

Mr. Wallace, were you ever asked to supply the Communist Party with any classified Government secrets that you may have acquired in the course of your work?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, let's put it like this—that I would have meetings with shops—all of the staff would have meetings with workers as regards to what they were making, how long it took them to make it, what the component parts were of different articles.

We would then gather all of this information together and discuss it in our party meetings. We would know who it was being made for, what the component parts were, how long it would take to make, and what its purpose was.

Martha Stone would then gather that data, for what purpose I don't know, but she gathered it and told us how to fight the speedup program which was around that.

Mr. MORRIS. But she did take this information that you people all supplied?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you don't know what she did with it?

Mr. WALLACE. What actually happened was that the worker, unbeknownst to themselves, would discuss it with us. We would then discuss it with Martha Stone. The actual worker never gave it out. I guess if he had known that it was going further, he wouldn't have given it to us.

Mr. MORRIS. What did the Singer Sewing Machine people make that would be of any classification?

Mr. WALLACE. Not so much Singer Sewing Machine. Let's take, for instance, Ingersoll-Rand in Phillipsburg. I was assigned to the strike program down there in 1950.

Well, I and Archie Cole discussed with them what they were making. At that time, they were making pumps. They were making these large pumps for the Navy.

I discussed with them what they were making, how long it would take them to make it, what the problems were in making them. I would come back and discuss it, Archie Cole and I, and discuss it in party meetings with other party members. We had an idea of what was going on.

Another one was Sperry Gyroscope, out on Long Island. They were making parts for the Air Force.

Another one was International Projector. They were making a bombsight for the Navy. We discussed the different component parts, what went into it, who the workers were that were on it, and then we discussed it with the party.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say Martha Stone was the recipient of information from all of these places?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with your work, Mr. Wallace, did you have any dealings with other groups—people like schoolteachers or lawyers? Communist schoolteachers or Communist lawyers?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

I was a liaison between the union and the front organizations. One of the front organizations—well, I won't say that it is a front organization, but it is not a legitimate organization—was this Emergency Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee?

Mr. WALLACE. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And had no connection whatever with the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. WALLACE. No.

In 1954, I was assigned to work with this committee on exposing—not exposing, but discrediting—the Un-American Committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. WALLACE. That is right.

They were coming in, in July of 1954 to Newark. My job was to coordinate the activities of the union with this committee.

At that time, I met several teachers and professional people—doctors and lawyers—who were also on that committee.

At that time, I found out—well, I can't say that they were Communists—but I found out that they spoke as I did, as far as communism was concerned.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with this hearing, you told us you attended a certain meeting in some doctor's home in Maplewood.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. I attended a meeting at Dr. Tushnet's home.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. I can't say that he attended meetings with me, but from the discussions that went on at these meetings, I would say yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was present at this meeting in Dr. Tushnet's home in Maplewood, N. J.?

Mr. WALLACE. There was myself. There was Lew Moroze, M-o-r-o-z-e. He was secretary of the Civil Rights Congress. There was Sylvia Cohen.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Sylvia Cohen?

Mr. WALLACE. She was a staff member of my union.

Mr. MORRIS. Was she a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, she was a Communist. She was in the same club as I was.

By the way, that club was the District Club at that time. I was assigned to a new club.

There was Perry Zimmerman. There was Estelle Laba.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Estelle Laba?

Mr. WALLACE. She was a schoolteacher.

Mr. MORRIS. Is she a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. I never attended a formal party meeting with her but, from the discussion, I would say yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was she one of the witnesses called before the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, she was.

Mr. MORRIS. Were there any other schoolteachers called at that time?

Mr. WALLACE. Perry Zimmerman. He was called.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a teacher?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. He was present?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. There was another schoolteacher—Robert Lowenstein.

Was he—

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he, to your knowledge, a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. That I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened at this meeting?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, there were about nine of us there—nine people. What we were discussing was the fact that we knew the committee was coming.

These people had approached lawyers to act for them before the committee. The lawyers had refused to take part in it and be a part of it. So it was necessary for us to influence these lawyers to defend these people before the committee.

Now, at the same time, we had to raise money for these people to be defended, because the fees were enormous that some of the lawyers were asking, and it was felt that it was necessary to get prominent lawyers—not just ordinary lawyers—prominent lawyers who carried some weight in the community.

So it was felt that Judge Bigelow was—well—he was a wheel. He was a big shot, as far as the bar association in New Jersey was concerned.

Mr. MORRIS. What is his first name, do you know?

Mr. WALLACE. Offhand, I don't know his first name. I know who he is, though. He was just appointed to the Rutgers board.

Now, if we could get Judge Bigelow to go on record as saying that the lawyers had a right, and the lawyers were perfectly within their right to defend people who felt like using the fifth amendment—if he would come out with that kind of a statement, then certainly we could get prominent lawyers throughout the State of New Jersey who would take these cases. So that was our role.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you go about fulfilling that role?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, I can't recall the woman's name. There was a prominent woman in Essex County, and her role was to go to Judge Bigelow, since she was on friendly terms with Judge Bigelow—

Mr. MORRIS. Was she a Communist, this woman?

Mr. WALLACE. I don't know know her that well, to say she was or was not.

Mr. MORRIS. She was generally in sympathy with your work?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Well, everybody that was there was in sympathy, as far as that was concerned. You know.

So she was to approach Judge Bigelow and try to influence Judge Bigelow to take this kind of position. He did. When he did, we then could approach the other lawyers. They did approach the other lawyers, and got other lawyers, such as Oxfell—

Mr. MORRIS. What is his first name?

Mr. WALLACE. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. O-x-f-e-l-l?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. He used to be a lawyer for the CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. Any other lawyers?

Mr. WALLACE. Well, the union lawyers, for instance. Scribner, Stavis.

Mr. MORRIS. What is his first name?

Mr. WALLACE. His first name is Morty Stavis.

Mr. MORRIS. What is Scribner's first name?

Mr. WALLACE. David Scribner.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they Communists?

Mr. WALLACE. I have never attended a meeting with them, but, from the language they talked and the discussions we had, I would say "Yes." They automatically defended the union members, and their position was that they would certainly defend anybody using the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Were any other lawyers involved at that time?

Mr. WALLACE. I don't recall all of them that were involved.

Mr. MORRIS. How many Communist teachers were there in the area, to your knowledge?

Mr. WALLACE. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. How many Communist lawyers were there in this area?

Mr. WALLACE. That, again, I can't tell you.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did the Communist Party ever ask you to resort to violence in connection with your work?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you want to tell us about that?

Mr. WALLACE. Before I tell you, I want to know if I may assume that there is a certain thing called immunity that I have, because this has never been told before. That is why I am asking you.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, the witness wants to tell us a story about having been asked to perform certain acts of violence. He is afraid there might be some kind of an action taken against him if he does tell it. Now, certainly, it would be foolhardy for a man, if in a situation a man is coming forth and telling us voluntarily about acts of sabotage that the Communist Party asked him to perform, to leave himself open for any action that the Senate may take against him. I cannot give him any assurance, because I don't know what action the Attorney General would take. He is here under subpena, Senator. Suppose we take an executive session, and then we can judge for ourselves what kind of representation we can take.

Senator HRUSKA. We wouldn't want to prejudice his position, considering how helpful he has been.

Mr. WALLACE. On that particular case, I won't state, but as far as violence which pertains to workers in general, yes. We have been in the position of meeting with Communist Party members on how to throw paint into people's homes. For instance, in the BT strike, I recall where wholesale—in the Plainfield area, we would take a bottle of—

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Wallace, do you recognize we are going to take it in the executive session?

Mr. WALLACE. I am not telling you about the incident that would involve me, personally.

Mr. MORRIS. Very well. Go ahead.

Mr. WALLACE. We would take a bottle of paint, mix it with paint remover, a mayonnaise bottle, mix it with paint remover, and just screw the cap off a little bit. We would let it go through a—we called them scabs—through a scab's window, or a foreman's window,

and just damage up the whole home. That was done—a form of violence. It was done to intimidate and stop people from going into plants, and like that.

So that, in all of the strikes I have been—in every one of the strikes I have been in—the party sat down, and I sat down with the clubs and actually planned out the violence program that we were going to carry on, based on one thing. They told me that unless the workers themselves—when things are going slow on a day-to-day basis, workers are just walking the picket line and doing nothing else, they get bored. They get tired. They want to go back to work.

In order to stop this back-to-work movement, if you could have some incident, some incident which would stand out, which would scare those workers who were on the line, who were ready to go back to work, which would give those militant workers some courage, you would then be able to win a strike.

These were some of the things we did, and some of the things I learned as I came down with the variety of strikes I was on.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was this in line with previous training you had received?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; it was.

As I went along, my training went on from day to day. They would teach me something different from day to day, and I would learn something. After all, I was still a young guy in the union.

Mr. MORRIS. The subcommittee has been taking testimony, and this is one of the reasons you were asked to testify today, that sometime in the period we are discussing here the Communists changed their policy with respect to activity within the labor unions. At one point along the line they asked, they directed their workers to change their policy from what they called left sectarianism, isolating themselves from the labor unions, and to get back into the CIO, and so on. Did you encounter that along the line?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I was part of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us about that?

Mr. WALLACE. The whole policy changed at the end of 1953, and the beginning of 1954. At that time—here you have to try to understand what I mean by right left, and left left. Rightwing unions are those unions which are not Communist dominated.

Mr. MORRIS. This is according to Communist policy?

Mr. WALLACE. That is right. Leftwing unions are those which are Communist dominated; but within the leftwing unions you have a left left, which are radical, within the union itself. Then, within the left unions, you have a right element which—they are not radicals, but they are militant people who are honest people, but they just happen to be in a leftwing union.

Mr. MORRIS. And they are not Communists?

Mr. WALLACE. They are rightwing people, who happen to be in a leftwing union. They are not Communists. But, within that leftwing union, you have radicals who are called leftwing.

Well, from 1949 to 1953, the leftwing unions were losing membership to the rightwing unions. Rightwing unions were just moving in and taking away their membership. Also, at that time, the Communist Party itself was losing voice within the right unions, because they had no people in the right unions. All their left people were

isolated in the left unions. Therefore, the policy had to change, because how could we affect the right unions unless we got people into the right unions?

So, it became necessary that where we lost local unions—where the left unions lost local unions—it was necessary to say to those workers, "Do not stay out of the right union, but join the right union, become a part of the right union, so that you can influence the policies. Attend the meetings of the right unions so that you can influence the policies of that right union and, by so doing, bring the Communist Party thinking to that right union."

Well, this went on for a while. Then it was found out that the left union was losing so many people to the point where it was becoming ineffective. Then the policy was to get into the mainstream of labor, no matter what the cost. There would be casualties by the way, but as we tried to go in—

For instance, Jim McLeish wouldn't be the president of the district 4; Bill Wallace wouldn't be secretary of district 4, but would be regular workers in the shop. Matles and Emspak, Fitzgerald, and those guys, would find themselves out of work.

But these things had to happen, because it was important that we get the rank and file—this meant the Communist Party clubs—back into the mainstream of labor.

The main thing was getting the clubs back in, the little people down below, because the clubs down below were the ones that actually did the party work within the unions or within the shops.

So that in 1954 we fought it out, and it wasn't until 1955 that within our union we finally began putting so much weight on the rank and file to get back into the mainstream of labor that we finally—it was finally in 1955 or 1956—that in our union they went back into the mainstream of labor.

But before that, all of the left unions started moving into the mainstream of labor and not only called the union names here but you will notice that the leftwing unions did start moving into the mainstream of labor—that is, the AFL and the CIO—in 1954.

That was only at party direction that they did that.

At one time they had thought of building a complete left group by itself.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, that is something the subcommittee has been observing in all these recent hearings that we have been having on the labor situation.

We have seen the people who have been identified with the left unions, used in the sense that Mr. Wallace has used it today, have now been moving into the AFL and CIO. We have had at least a score of such cases here before the subcommittee.

Senator Hruska. Is there anything further, gentlemen?

Mr. MORRIS. One final question, Mr. Wallace.

Would you tell us, generally, if you found that the Communist Party actually had the interest of the workers at heart in carrying on its various activities?

Mr. WALLACE. No.

That was one of the reasons in 1952 that I became disillusioned with the Communist Party, because, actually, I considered myself a very good party worker.

When I found that the Communist Party was using the Negro people and the workers in general to benefit the Communist Party alone, I couldn't see it.

For instance, we used to talk about slums and slum clearances, workers living in downtrodden homes, and like that. All we would do would be on the streets of Elizabeth—all we would do would be to build it up and propagandize it and make a big stink out of it.

But to actually go into the homes and tell the people how to correct their living conditions, we never did. All we did was propagandize it, to blow it up, and to give the party and the party clubs a platform on which to draw people in, so that we could talk to them about party activities.

That was our main purpose of using the workers, to get them to listen to our propaganda about warmongering, about the Government not thinking about workers, otherwise they would build new homes.

Yet, they would speak about the Soviet Union and say people in the Soviet Union are living better than you are in these holes.

This was the kind of propaganda that we had built up.

Also, the fact of speedup, the speedup program. The Soviet workers—they would say—are not on a speedup program; yet the American Government and big business has gotten you on a speedup program.

This was the kind of propaganda.

Finally, when I went to Russia and came back and analyzed it, I saw that it wasn't true.

Mr. MORRIS. What were the conditions in the Soviet Union?

Mr. WALLACE. There was a speedup program there, only they called it the 5-year plan. The conditions there were just as bad as was painted. For instance, in Russia the young people didn't go to churches. There was no effort to get them into churches.

The living conditions—they tried to show me in Russia the living conditions where a guy bought a suit and the suit was of the same quality that ours was, and yet it would take him a month to buy that suit, and it would only take me 2 weeks to buy a suit. I just couldn't see the way they did it.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you get to go through some of the factories there?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

I went through the automobile factories, I went through the tractor factories. I went through the shoe factories.

As I said before, they had a speedup program, and they called it the 5-year plan. The people in the Soviet Union were doing that solely on their own—they said—voluntarily, to make their own production for the good of Russia.

Actually, the people—why, I saw women out there digging ditches. I saw workers working 8, 9, 10 hours a day. I saw them working 6 days a week. Here I was working only 5 days a week.

Senator HRUSKA. Did they get overtime?

Mr. WALLACE. No; they just got straight time. But they had a system, sort of like our incentive system. For everything you produce over a certain amount, you get a bonus. That is what I saw.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, sometime this afternoon, we will take the executive session testimony referred to.

But I would like the record to show the appreciation of at least the staff of Mr. Wallace's coming down to testify today.

It is becoming increasingly more difficult, what with the political atmosphere being what it is, to get people to testify today. I think, at least as far as the Internal Security Subcommittee is concerned, we should show that we appreciate it.

Senator HRUSKA. I want to add to that my own appreciation.

One of the most articulate and most clear explanations of the training and activities of the Communist Party was yours, Mr. Wallace, and I want to commend you for coming here and cooperating with the committee, as you have.

Is there anything further?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. If not, the witness is excused.

Before we adjourn, I would like to call attention to the fact that this is one of the last hearings that will be attended by Mr. William Rusher as a member of the staff of the subcommittee.

I understand he has resigned, effective the middle of next month, to accept new employment to go into a new field.

Do you want to tell us what it is, Mr. Rusher?

Mr. RUSHER. Publisher of the National Review magazine, in New York City.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, that is fine.

I understand you have been here with us a year and a half, and from my experience in the last  $7\frac{1}{2}$  months, I have been very gratified. From what I hear from the other members of the staff, they likewise enjoyed a benefit from your working along with them, and we are sorry you are leaving.

We hope you will find your new job both beneficial and interesting.

Mr. RUSHER. Thank you. It has been a great pleasure for me, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. If there is no further business, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 3:35 p. m., in room 313, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; and Nelson Frank, investigator.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, this is the testimony of William A. Wallace, continued.

Senator HRUSKA. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Hruska, at this morning's session, there was an incident came up that indicated that this witness knew about some acts of sabotage that were attempted by the Communist Party, and the witness is now ready to tell us about that particular act of sabotage that he knew about.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well, he may proceed.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM A. WALLACE

Mr. MORRIS. Was there any act of violence that the Communist Party attempted to perform to your knowledge?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; there was.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with what was that?

Mr. WALLACE. That was in connection with the American Safety Razor Co. leaving Brooklyn and going to Staunton, Va.

Mr. MORRIS. Did the party object to their leaving?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; they did.

Mr. MORRIS. And was violence attempted?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; it was.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were a group of Communists called in solely for violence?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; they were.

Mr. MORRIS. And what were their instructions?

Mr. WALLACE. In order to keep the workers of the American Safety Razor on the picket lines and in a good mood, that some act of violence had to happen which would bolster their courage.

Mr. MORRIS. And were any of these people asked to get guns or anything?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; they were. They were told to go to a camp in upstate New York and pick up a gun which was to be used to blow out the tires on a truck of the Smith Trucking Co., which is a trucking company out of Staunton, Va., and, failing that, do anything possible which would stop any of those trucks on the road. They then went out to follow the trucks out of Brooklyn into Baltimore. Along the road they tried to stop the trucks by the use of using the gun, shooting at the tire. It didn't work, so then they used a "Molotov cocktail," which is gasoline and oil mixed together and put in a jar with a wick, and then light the wick and throw it at the gas tank of the truck. That was attempted several times; and each time that the attempt was made, the wind would blow the light out—the fire out on the "Molotov cocktail." That didn't happen, so they went back to Elizabeth, N. J., into the terminal point of the trucking company and attempted to cut the airlines on the trailer. Because of the tough rubber and the steel being around this cable, that didn't work, so they reported failure as far as the incident was concerned but reported success as far as letting the workers know that they attempted something.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you gave the identity of all the participants in it to the FBI, did you not?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I made a complete report to the FBI.

Senator HRUSKA. Who gave the instructions in regard to this act of violence that you have just described—without naming names? I do not want you to name names unless you feel that you can. But with reference to this, what was the source of the instructions?

Mr. WALLACE. It was the Communist Party instructions to a group of Communist Party members within the union.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were present at the time?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, we will give the FBI the names of all the people that Mr. Wallace has told us about on the record and off the record.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. Now, do you want that to be on the record?

Mr. MORRIS. I think so.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. The record will show that cooperation will be extended to the FBI.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been able to think of the woman who was the intermediary between the Communist Party and Judge Bigelow?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I have. Her name was Frances Nussbaum.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, was she a Communist Party member?

Mr. WALLACE. Not to my knowledge, but I can say definitely she was sympathetic to the Communist Party. And her purpose at that time was to discredit the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you remember a trip you made, Mr. Wallace, to Washington in connection with the Harry Bridges situation?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I do.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you'd tell us about that?

Mr. WALLACE. In November of 1951, I met with James McLeish; and he told me that the party had instructed him to go to Washington, the Hotel Willard, to meet with Harry Bridges and some of the leading leftwing union leadership. Unfortunately, he couldn't make it

and said that I was supposed to cover the affair. I asked him what it was about, and he told me that it pertained to the deportation of Harry Bridges and the need to rally all the leftwing unions around the Harry Bridges deportation.

Mr. MORRIS. You are using "leftwing" in the sense that you defined it for us this morning?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. I came to Washington and I met with Russ Nixon, who was waiting for me. I reported to his office here in Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge was he a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. To my knowledge; yes. That is from discussions which I had with him. I came to Washington; I met with Russ Nixon. He then took me to the Hotel Willard. I met there with Harry Bridges, Joe Selly, Dave Livingston, and Joe Kehoe, but there was another fellow, Durkin, from district 65. We met there and we discussed the necessity for the leftwing trade unions to mobilize their entire membership around the Harry Bridges deportation, that we were to put out leaflets individually to our membership and propagandize the affair and show that the Government was taking off on Harry Bridges unfairly, that they were just trying to do a job on Harry Bridges—he was just the first step, that they would then be taking off—that they would then do a job on all the militant trade unions if we let them get away with the Harry Bridges deportation.

Mr. MORRIS. How many of these people were, to your knowledge, Communists?

Mr. WALLACE. To my knowledge—

Mr. MORRIS. Was Joe Kehoe a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. There was Kehoe; there was Selly; there was Bridges—well—

Mr. MORRIS. How about Durkin?

Mr. WALLACE. Durkin; I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Livingston?

Mr. WALLACE. Livingston was sympathetic. And the security measures that were taken around this meeting indicated to me that it was strictly a party meeting, because they questioned everyone, whether we had let anyone else know about it. We weren't supposed to let anyone else know about it. They cut off all telephone calls, and they just checked to see whether I was sent by anyone else, or they were.

Mr. MORRIS. Was anyone else there?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; Leon Straus was there.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he, to your knowledge, a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How many of these people moved back into the AFL-CIO? Was Straus—

Mr. WALLACE. Straus was AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. And he has gone back?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. Livingston has gone back. Nixon, no; Bridges, no.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, are you acquainted with Local 477 of the IUE, which is now part of the AFL-CIO?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I am acquainted with it in the sense that it used to be another local union.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Victor Teich, the president of that local—to your knowledge, has he ever been a Communist?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I knew that by having discussions with him on communism in the Westchester area. We met in 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Hans Schuttig, who is now financial secretary-treasurer of that union?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; he was in the same union with me as an executive-board member, and I knew him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. How about James Garry, business manager?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I knew him to be a member by meeting with him, talking over party business.

Mr. MORRIS. Sidney Gilbert, business agent?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I knew him to be a Communist Party member, because in 1951 he instructed me to see that some of the fellows on the delegation didn't get out of line so far as Communists over in Russia were concerned.

Mr. MORRIS. Those five, Senator, are other instances of people who, at least to our knowledge, have been Communists.

During what period, Mr. Wallace, did you know them to be Communists?

Mr. WALLACE. I knew them from 1951 until 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. And, when you left the party, they were still in the party?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. There are instances, Senator, at least to that extent, between that period, of people who were Communists who have gone back to the AFL-CIO and who hold leading position in the IUE.

Now, who were Jack and Riva Bernstein?

Mr. WALLACE. Jack and Rya Bernstein. They were party people who, socially and on some of the ideas of the party, worked with me as an individual and as a friend. They gave me some of my basic instructions so far as the party was concerned, and they owned a drugstore up in Hillside. They owned a drugstore.

Mr. MORRIS. Hillside, N. J.?

Mr. WALLACE. Hillside, N. J., and instructed me how to operate as a good Communist, run for public office, getting out on the street with leaflet campaigns, and propagandizing.

Mr. MORRIS. And you did run for public office?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was that for?

Mr. WALLACE. I ran for assembly in the State of New Jersey.

Mr. MORRIS. In Union County?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when you were in Czechoslovakia, did you run into George Shaw Wheeler?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. An where did you meet him?

Mr. WALLACE. He met me first at my hotel, came down to see me.

Mr. MORRIS. On your way to Moscow?

Mr. WALLACE. On my way to Moscow. And then I stayed there a day with him at his home, and then he told me to meet him on my return. Somehow or other, he got his instructions ahead and he met me on my return, coming back to the United States, and I stayed then with him 2 days.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know him when he was in the United States?

Mr. WALLACE. No; I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his position with the Czechoslovakian Government; do you know?

Mr. WALLACE. I don't know his position. I knew that his wife was a translator with the Czechoslovakian Government.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Elinor Jaffe?

Mr. WALLACE. Elinor Jaffe was the secretary of one of the party leaders, and she was in on the discussions with me in relation to the violence incident. She was in on the discussions.

Mr. MORRIS. And where is she now; do you know?

Mr. WALLACE. Where is she?

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge.

Mr. WALLACE. She is now with the IUE.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you on the staff of the March of Labor?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; I was.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, was that a Communist-front organization?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes; it was.

Mr. MORRIS. Any doubt about it?

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir. That was the party assignment.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Wallace, again I want to say how grateful the subcommittee is for your cooperation. This just firms up and furnishes additional evidence to show the movement of Communist activity and members into the mainstream of the AFL-CIO, and that is something we are very interested in, because we knew that that was what was planned, what was forecast. And, of course, it is for us now to make such use of that information as we can for legislative purposes, which we propose to do. Thank you again.

Mr. MORRIS. There is one thing I ought to mention. This witness was subpenned before the Internal Security Subcommittee in 1951. Is that right, Mr. Wallace?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you invoked the fifth amendment at that time. Why did you invoke the fifth amendment?

Mr. WALLACE. I was instructed to, by the Communist Party. I was one of the first to appear before the committee, and the Communist Party, Martha Stone in particular, told me that, "Where there are names of people mentioned, use the fifth amendment. Where there is the security of the union, you feel there might be a doubt about it, use the fifth amendment, and we will get you lawyers who are acquainted with the fifth amendment so that you will have no fear of using it." So that's why, in my testimony before that committee, the committee at that time, I invoked the fifth amendment all the way down the line, on practically every question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have to pay your attorney for representing you then?

Mr. WALLACE. I did not; no. They paid for me—the party or the union.

Senator HRUSKA. All right; that will conclude the hearing.

(Whereupon, at 3:55 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)



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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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## HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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JULY 25, 1957

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PART 75

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1958

Boston Public Library  
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1976-02-0000

# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Herman Erwin Thomas?

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order. Call the first witness.

Will you be sworn, please, sir? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF HERMAN ERWIN THOMAS

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. THOMAS. Herman Erwin Thomas. I live in Allentown, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or profession?

Mr. THOMAS. I am in the wholesale frozen food business.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. In Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. And when did you first become involved in any way with the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. THOMAS. In 1937.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances of that association?

Mr. THOMAS. Surely. In 1937 I was a driver-salesman for a bottling company and the owner of this company at that time was a member of the Communist Party, and upon persuasion of him and several of his friends, I joined the Communist Party. I remained in the party until the latter part of 1939 when I began to see what the party really was, that it wasn't the champion of the working class.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you left the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. In the latter part of 1939.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you had no further association in the Communist Party during the subsequent years.

Mr. THOMAS. No; in January of 1944 I was—

Mr. MORRIS. Between 1939 and 1944 you had no connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened in 1944?

Mr. THOMAS. In January of 1944 I was approached by two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and they said they had known of my affiliation with the Communist Party and that I had broken with the party and asked if I wouldn't help the Government in working for the FBI as an undercover agent.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you do that?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. And you became a member of the Communist Party at their suggestion?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, in April of 1944.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you remain in the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Until May 6, 1954, when I testified in the Smith Act trial in Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. And of course from that time on, your association with the Communist Party was naturally terminated?

Mr. THOMAS. Most definitely.

Mr. MORRIS. While you were a Communist, Mr. Thomas, generally what section of the party did you work with?

Mr. THOMAS. The Lehigh Valley section of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the Lehigh Valley section of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. That took in Allentown, Bethlehem, Easton and Bucks County, Quakertown, Doylestown, New Hope, that section.

Mr. MORRIS. And what positions did you hold in the Lehigh Valley section?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I was financial secretary of the party. I was president-director; for a time I was literature director, a member of the district steel commission. I was on the section committee, on the section secretariat. I held numerous positions in the party.

Mr. MORRIS. Generally, since you held all those positions with the Lehigh Valley section of the Communist Party, I wonder if you could tell us what the general strength in the party was, at least during the period that you held those positions. I understand after you left the party in 1954 you could not qualify to testify about that period, but while you were the treasurer and held all these other offices what was the strength—

Mr. THOMAS. The greatest strength of the party at one time was about 174 or 175 members in the Lehigh Valley section.

Mr. MORRIS. And that was declining at the time you left the party; is that right?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, yes. After the arrest of the leaders in New York, I guess it was around 1949, the membership in the party started to dwindle.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was it when you left in 1940?

Mr. THOMAS. I would say around 40 in the Lehigh Valley.

Mr. MORRIS. The Lehigh Valley section?

Mr. THOMAS. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you generally tell us what was the concentration industrywise of the 176 members of the Communist Party in the Lehigh Valley section?

Mr. THOMAS. Steel was the main concentration, the Bethlehem Steel plant at Bethlehem, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you participate in any of the steel commission work of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; as I stated before, I was a member of the district steel commission. I also was associated for a time with one of the steel clubs in Bethlehem. I, along with the section organizer, worked very closely in steel among the steelworkers.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the other members of the steel commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I might say, first, Charles Spencer, who, as the section organizer, was one of the first members of the steel commission from the Lehigh Valley area.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did the steel commission meet?

Mr. THOMAS. Most of our meetings were held in Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. And how many members of this commission were there?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, there were about 12 to 14 members would attend the meetings that I attended.

Mr. MORRIS. And who were they generally? You said Spencer was one.

Mr. THOMAS. Charlie Spencer, William Hood.

Mr. MORRIS. Who represented Bethlehem Steel, by the way?

Mr. THOMAS. William Hood represented Bethlehem Steel and then there was a fellow by the name of Bill Crawford who represented Baldwin Locomotive Works.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was Baldwin Locomotive Works located?

Mr. THOMAS. I think it is near Chester, Pa., Spring City or Eddystone; somewhere in that vicinity.

Mr. MORRIS. What other steelworkers were represented there?

Mr. THOMAS. There was the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel, the Bethlehem Steel plant at Bethlehem, the Lukens Steel of Coatesville, and the Baldwin Locomotive Works.

Mr. MORRIS. And the workers who were organized by the Communist Party in all of these various steel plants—

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Had representatives at the steel commission?

Mr. THOMAS. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. And the commission itself was made up of between 12 and 15 members?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Who for instance represented Lukens Steel at these meetings?

Mr. THOMAS. At one time there was a fellow by the name of Gillespie who represented the Communist Party at Lukens Steel.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his first name?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't recall his first name.

Mr. MORRIS. You say Crawford was a representative of Baldwin Locomotives?

Mr. THOMAS. Bill Crawford.

Mr. MORRIS. And William Hood?

Mr. THOMAS. Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. MORRIS. And how about yourself, who did you represent?

Mr. THOMAS. Bethlehem Steel at Bethlehem.

Mr. MORRIS. What were you doing at that time?

Mr. THOMAS. For a time I had worked at Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. MORRIS. And because you had, you represented—

Mr. THOMAS. I represented the Communist Party workers at Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. MORRIS. How many Communist Party workers at Bethlehem Steel did you represent?

Mr. THOMAS. At one time we had about 17 members at Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. MORRIS. That was the strongest concentration in that?

Mr. THOMAS. I think so.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1954 had that declined?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, greatly.

Mr. MORRIS. How many were there to your recollection in 1954?

Mr. THOMAS. I would say about a half, about 7 or 8.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you working at Bethlehem Steel at the time they had a strike during the Korean war?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I wasn't working at Bethlehem Steel at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have anything to do with the strike?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. I was instructed by Charles Spencer—no, William Hood was our section organizer at that time, that we should contact the members we had in steel and try to tell them to stay out, that they could get better conditions, but to my knowledge his was a camouflage because, in 1945, during World War II, there was all-out production as far as the Communist Party was concerned because that was a people's war, World War II, but during the Korean war we tried to slow down production wherever possible, and also tried to maintain the strike as long as we could.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that true about this particular Bethlehem Steel strike?

Mr. THOMAS. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. When was this Bethlehem Steel strike you are referring to?

Mr. THOMAS. I think it was around 1951 or 1952. I am not sure of the exact date.

Mr. MORRIS. And could you tell us specifically then how the Communist Party tried to prolong the 1951 and 1952 Bethlehem Steel strike?

Mr. THOMAS. We told our party members and party sympathizers to try to talk to the fellows on the picket line that they could get better working conditions and they shouldn't submit to the demands of the union and the steel company.

Mr. MORRIS. Who did this? What was the representation of the Communists in Bethlehem Steel at that time?

Mr. THOMAS. In 1951? I would say there were about 12.

Mr. MORRIS. Twelve.

Mr. THOMAS. That's right, out of the original 17.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, assume they participated?

Mr. THOMAS. They did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did any outside Communist force try to amplify the work they were doing?

Mr. THOMAS. The only thing I know is that I only contacted the Communist Party members that were working at Steel and giving

them the instructions that were given me by the section organizer of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. And these instructions were that they were to prolong the strike?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And the reason for prolonging the strike is they wanted to slow up defense production during the Korean war?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Did that Communist Party obstructionist thinking as you have just described it, did that manifest itself in any other things you did for the Communist Party or in any other things that you did as an individual?

Mr. THOMAS. I might say that during the Korean war there was a meeting of the section secretariat. At that time William Hood and William Power and myself were members of that section secretariat, and about half past 12, past midnight, I asked to be excused and told them that I had to go airplane spotting. I belonged to the Ground Observer Corps at that time. William Power says to me "You mean to tell me that you are helping the Korean war effort by spotting airplanes that in case a Soviet plane would come over here you would have to report it?" He says, "You know you could be kicked out of the party for this."

Well, I said, "All I know is that in World War II, I was an airplane spotter." They said, "Well, that was a different situation. World War II was a people's war. This war here is an Imperialist's War."

Mr. MORRIS. Did that show up in anything else, buying defense bonds or anything like that?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, yes; well, the Communists were instructed not to buy defense bonds because of that fact that it helped the Korean war effort. In fact we did have one member expelled from the party because he continuously bought defense bonds.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall who he was?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; Morris Klein.

K-l-e-i-n. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. Has he gone back in the party again?

Mr. THOMAS. I wouldn't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Generally, could you tell us about the strength of the Communist Party in the city of Philadelphia itself?

This Lehigh Valley section, you say the peak membership was 176.

Mr. THOMAS. 174 or 175.

Mr. MORRIS. By the middle of 1954 it had reduced to about 40.

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the general strength of the Communist Party in Philadelphia during this period?

Mr. THOMAS. Around 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. The general area that you were in there.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, at one time it was as high as 3,800 members of the party in Philadelphia, but I would say that in 1954, just before I testified, there was about 1,400—1,400 to 1,700—members of the party.

Mr. MORRIS. You were competent to estimate that number; were you not?

Mr. THOMAS. The reason I say that, give that figure, is that I attended some enlarged district committee meetings of the eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware area; at these meetings reports would be made as to membership, finances, recruiting, etc., and I formed the basis of my opinion on this, on those figures that were given at these enlarged district committee meetings.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you give us a breakdown or estimate what particular businesses or professions these people were in?

Mr. THOMAS. In the Philadelphia area?

Mr. MORRIS. In the Philadelphia area.

Mr. THOMAS. I couldn't do that. I can say this. That I was more acquainted with the different commissions that were set up and industries, such as electrical, steel, transportation, than I was with the city clubs in the city of Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. As a member of the Steel Commission did you also attend any meetings of the National Steel Commission?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I attended two meetings of the National Steel Commission in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MORRIS. The particular meetings—the Steel Commission met in Philadelphia.

Mr. THOMAS. Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Mr. MORRIS. The National?

Mr. THOMAS. The whole United States.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you attended two of those?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. In what years?

Mr. THOMAS. 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. Both of them in that year?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were some of the representatives of the National Steel Commission?

Mr. THOMAS. From the local area, that is eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, Charles Spencer, William Erney.

Mr. MORRIS. How do you spell Erney?

Mr. THOMAS. E-r-n-e-y. There was a Jake Felsenstein, from Philadelphia at one of these meetings and at one time there was a Robert Morrell.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Felsenstein, mentioned by the witness, is somebody who has appeared before the subcommittee, I think, during the spring, and he had just been given an outstanding civic award by the city of Philadelphia. We asked him about the testimony Mr. Thomas had given us in executive session and he invoked his privilege under the fifth amendment at that time. That was the period, Senator, when the people who had been identified as Communists when asked about it were invoking the fifth amendment rather than the first amendment.

Mr. THOMAS. Also at that meeting was a Jack Kling who was a Communist Party organizer from South Chicago.

Mr. MORRIS. From South Chicago?

Mr. THOMAS. That's right. Arnold Johnson who was the district organizer of the Communist Party of the State of Ohio. That is about all I can remember at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. And the functions of that particular commission was simply an extension of the commission, of the work that you were doing in Philadelphia.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could, generally, before we get to these individuals, Mr. Thomas, tell us the strength of the Communist Party in the surrounding areas of Philadelphia?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, the party took in eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware. The party had quite a stronghold in the Chester area where Bill Crawford was the section organizer.

Mr. MORRIS. Expressly what industry did they work in there?

Mr. THOMAS. Baldwin Locomotive Works.

Mr. MORRIS. Anything in the shipyards there?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; Sun Ship. Also in southeastern Pennsylvania, taking in Reading, Lancaster, and York, Robert Jaffe was the section organizer in that area assisted by a girl by the name of Peggy Bishop. That's about the extent.

Mr. MORRIS. Peggy Bishop in what area did you say?

Mr. THOMAS. Around York.

Mr. MORRIS. Around York. Was there anything in the Reading area?

Mr. THOMAS. Robert Jaffe was the section organizer.

Mr. MORRIS. In Reading?

Mr. THOMAS. In Reading.

Mr. MORRIS. And was there an important group of Communists around that area?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, there were.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Bucks County?

Mr. THOMAS. Bucks County was one of the largest strongholds of the party. They had quite a farmer's group there, and then in the New Hope section at one time quite a few writers.

Mr. MORRIS. Writers?

Mr. THOMAS. Writers lived in that area. I recall Mother Bloor, who is dead now, telling me of the vast amounts of money the party was able to raise in that area years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. How about the Delaware section of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. The only fellow I knew that at one time had charge of the Delaware area was Dan Slinger who is a charter member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a man named Irving Riskind?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir; very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Irving Riskind?

Mr. THOMAS. Irving Riskind came into our area, that is the Lehigh Valley section from Detroit. In Detroit he managed a Federal Housing project for the Government, while he was a member of the Communist Party. He came into Bethlehem the latter part of 1947, and he held various positions in the party such as the organizational secretary. He instructed classes on Marxist works and was a member of the Communist Party until I testified May 6, 1954. He was quite active in raising money against the Mundt-Nixon bill. He was quite active in the Rosenberg case. If I might interrupt for a second or two; for a while—I think it was in September of 1948 that we received

a new section organizer—but for about a period of 4 months we didn't have a section organizer, and he was the liaison between the district and the section.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know what he is doing now?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, he is a fertilizer salesman.

Mr. MORRIS. We have an address for him, 329 North 22d Street, in Allentown, Pa.

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Billie Jane Lipsett, of 722 Hamilton Street, Easton, Pa.?

Mr. THOMAS. Billie Jane Lipsett was a member of the Easton Professional Club of the Communist Party, quite active in the political end of the party, that is the Progressive Party, the Political Action Committee; at one time, she was a member of the NAACP at Easton and was quite a great asset to the party in trying to get through some of the positions in the party in the NAACP.

Mr. MORRIS. What was her business or profession?

Mr. THOMAS. The last job that I knew of her holding, she was a dental assistant.

Mr. MORRIS. In Easton, Pa.?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether she attended any section or district conventions of the party?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct. She had attended a few section committee meetings of the party, several of them being held at her home on Hamilton Street in Easton, and she attended 1 or 2 section committee meetings that were held at April Farms, which was the home of Mother Bloor, and also a few conventions of the district in Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. How about William Hood?

Mr. THOMAS. William Hood came into our section as a section organizer in September of 1948.

Mr. MORRIS. As such he would be the leading official in the Lehigh Valley Section.

Mr. THOMAS. He was sent here by the district. I recall at a section committee meeting where we approved Hood's coming in as a section organizer. He remained in the section until around March or April of 1953 when he was removed as a section organizer because of the fact that, well, right after the Smith Act trial conviction in New York—I might say in September of 1951, the party in the Lehigh Valley went underground. We were instructed that there would be no more use of the telephones and we would establish a courier system, and that there would be no enlarged meetings, that there would only be groups of 3 and 4; clubs would be broken down in that manner.

Well, some of these leaders of the party became unavailable, and Hood's wife was moved to Philadelphia and Hood was supposed to make himself scarce. Well, the party on several occasions found out that Bill was visiting Philadelphia, and at a meeting, I think it was in December of 1952 at the home of a Dr. David Brooks in Kintnersville, Pa., at that meeting were Bill Hood and William Power who at that time to me was only known as Jack, and Dr. Albert Blumberg who was at one time the national legislative director of the Communist Party and a fellow by the name of Vic who later became known to me

as Joseph Roberts who was one of the defendants I testified against in the Smith Act trial.

This particular meeting was called to discuss Hood's work in the Lehigh Valley, and it was there that it was decided that Hood would be removed and not expelled from the party but removed to Philadelphia. Then I think it was in January of 1953, at a meeting in Doyles-town, that Roberts announced that Jack, who was known as William Power, would be the new section organizer for the Lehigh Valley section.

Mr. MORRIS. What is Power doing now; do you know?

Mr. THOMAS. Power is working in Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Hood drawing any Government money at any time?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; Hood was drawing some kind of a disability allotment from the Government and he turned this check over to the party. I was surprised at the large amounts of money that Hood used to contribute to the party, because I know Hood—I used to have to pay Hood's wages in the Lehigh Valley. He received \$45 a week from the party local, plus his expense, and then he received a money order from the district. They subsidized him to the amount of \$25 a week, but he would make quite large contributions.

Then at one time he told me of this check that he was turning over to the party every month.

Mr. MORRIS. In its entirety?

Mr. THOMAS. All he told me was he was turning his disability check over to the party.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know how much it was?

Mr. THOMAS. No, I don't.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think we could probably find out through Veterans' Administration records the amount of money he was getting.

Senator Hruska. The staff is directed to explore that source of information, and if it is available to put the information in the record at this point.

(The following letter bearing on the above matter was later received from the Veterans' Administration:)

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,  
OFFICE OF CHIEF BENEFITS DIRECTOR,  
DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS BENEFITS,  
Washington, D. C., August 27, 1957.

BENJAMIN MANDEL.

Research Director, Internal Security Subcommittee,  
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MANDEL: This is in reply to your letter of July 26, 1957, and with reference to the telephone contact with a representative from this office relative to information you desire on William Hood.

Mr. Hood is presently in receipt of compensation payments paid at the rate of \$33 monthly. His current address is 3221-A McMichael Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Hood's Veterans' Administration claim number is C-7,798,489, and his records are located at the regional office, 128 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Delay in reply to your letter has been necessitated by time required to check numerous records for veterans having the same name.

Very truly yours,

RALPH H. STONE,  
Chief Benefits Director.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was George Merlo?

Mr. THOMAS. The business agent of the International Fur & Leather Workers Union, CIO, in Easton, Pa. He was a member of the Fur Club of the Communist Party of Easton.

Mr. MORRIS. That fur workers union has now gone into the AFL-CIO; has it not?

Mr. THOMAS. I think it has. I think it is part of the butcher workers union now.

Mr. MORRIS. So that would be another case, Senator, of somebody in a Communist-controlled union now being absorbed by the AFL-CIO. This George Merlo, does he live at 400 Pershing Avenue at Philipsburg, Pa., to your knowledge?

Mr. THOMAS. To the best of my knowledge that is where he lives.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Russel Ames?

Mr. THOMAS. Russel Ames was a professor originally from Brooklyn College, and then taught at the Jefferson School of Social Science which, to the best of my knowledge, is on the Attorney General's subversive list as a Communist school. He taught there. He resided in Hampton, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Hampton, N. J.?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, in a very palatial home, several of the secret meetings of the Communist Party—by secret I mean people who were Communists who were unavailable to the general membership held meetings at this home. He was quite a large contributor to the party, in fact, I think it was in 1950 or 1951 when he gave a thousand dollars to the party to pull us out of the red, not the color of the party, I mean figuratively.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Hruska, there has been a subpna for Russel Ames issued and he has retained counsel and counsel has asked that his appearance be postponed but he will be heard later.

Mr. THOMAS. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a Robert Miller?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir, I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Does the Robert Miller you know live at 627 Mauchchunk Street in Easton, Pa.?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Now the Miller that you knew was a member of the Communist Party; was he not?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir, he was.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he ever live in Doylestown?

Mr. THOMAS. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, the reason I make a point out of that is that in connection with the testimony of Mr. Walter last week, he testified to a meeting at which was present Robert Miller of Doylestown, Pa. There is a Robert Miller who lives in Doylestown. He says he is the only Robert Miller who lives in Doylestown, and he has protested the fact that his name appeared in the record. Senator, I would like the record to show that this Robert Miller that Mr. Thomas knew never lived in Doylestown.

Mr. THOMAS. No; I happened to be at that meeting in Doylestown that Robert Miller attended. See, Robert Miller was a member of the section committee at that time, and at this meeting in Doylestown in January of 1953 is when the instructions were handed that Hood

would be removed and William Power would come in as section organizer, and Robert Miller of Easton attended that meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a member of the section committee, the Lehigh Valley section?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. So you knew him well?

Mr. THOMAS. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could generally tell us what he looked like. Is he short or tall?

Mr. THOMAS. I would say he is about 5 feet 8 inches tall, maybe weighed about 165 pounds, very attractive looking fellow. He was a Negro fellow.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a Negro?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, the other Miller that we mentioned is obviously not the same person.

How about Morris Klein?

Mr. THOMAS. I first met Morris Klein when I first joined the party in 1937 to 1939, and then again when I rejoined the party in 1944 I attended meetings at his home. In fact, in 1948 when I was living in Allentown, he was a member of the Allentown Industrial Club, the club that I was a member of, and he used to come into my place of business from time to time, and he would make very derogatory statements, especially against the flag of our country.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. He moved to New Jersey; didn't he?

Mr. THOMAS. I understand he was in New Jersey temporarily. He is back in Allentown, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Julius Lehman?

Mr. THOMAS. Julius Lehman is an old-time member of the party in Bucks County. I attended several meetings at his home. He was responsible for getting out the party leaflets in the Bucks County area.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his business or profession?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, at one time he was a shoemaker. He worked in his father's shoe-repair shop. To the best of my knowledge he is now employed by a news agency in Bethlehem, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he a member of the Quakerstown Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. I think you told us in executive session he has a mimeograph machine in his home.

Mr. THOMAS. A typewriter mimeograph machine.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Frank Kinces?

Mr. THOMAS. Frank Kinces became the temporary section organizer of the Bucks County area. I might say that at the opening of the United States Steel plant in, I think it is Morrisville or Morristown, Pa., the party felt that the area that was covered by the Lehigh Valley section organizer was too great, and in order to concentrate on this new steel plant, Bucks County was taken away from the Lehigh Valley section, and Frank Kinces was made the temporary section organizer of the Bucks County area. This meeting that I referred to where Robert Miller [of Easton] was present was held at Frank Kinces' home in Doylestown.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Herman Solitrin?

Mr. THOMAS. Herman Solitrin came into our area I think it was in the latter part of 1952. I'm not certain, but we had had a meeting prior to my meeting.

With Herman Solitrin at this meeting was Joseph Kuzma, who was one of the defendants I testified against in the Smith Act trial in Philadelphia, Joseph Roberts, another defendant in the Smith Act trial, Harry Walter, who was a member of the Steel Club, William Hood, the section organizer of the Communist Party in the Lehigh Valley section, and myself, and it was there that Kuzma and Roberts discussed the possibility of colonizing a few members from Philadelphia into steel. I later found out that Herman Solitrin was one of those members sent up from Philadelphia to be colonized in steel.

After the arrests of the nine leaders of the Communist Party of eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, I think it was in July of 1953, the section organizer of the party, who was William Power at that time, made himself kind of unavailable, and Herman Solitrin and myself took over some of his duties of contacting different members and of holding meetings with the leaders of the party. I recall one of those meetings being held on the third floor of the home of Irving Riskind where Herman Solitrin, myself, Irv Riskind and the woman who was taking care of the finances for the defense of the nine leaders in Philadelphia, Maud Nichol, was present.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Herman Solitrin was mentioned by Mr. Walter, Harry G. Walter, when he testified last week as the person who was present at a meeting of the Communist wherein a map of the Bethlehem Steel plant was presented to the whole assembled meeting, and they were asking Mr. Walter what would be the most strategic point in the Bethlehem Steel plant to be knocked out, what was the most sensitive spot if they wanted to destroy the plant, and he, of course, replied that it would be the powerplant. Now we have subpoenaed Mr. Solitrin, Senator, and he is present here. I wonder if the witness would turn around and look at the gentleman in the front row behind you.

Mr. THOMAS. I saw him when I came in.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that the same Herman Solitrin?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, it is.

Mr. MORRIS. And he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And you met him as such and attended meetings with him?

Mr. THOMAS. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Ann Wunthal?

Mr. THOMAS. She was a member of the Bethlehem City Club. She resided outside of Bath, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. Did she live in Danielsville, Pa?

Mr. THOMAS. I think that is the name of that area.

Mr. MORRIS. Her daughter was also active in the party.

Mr. THOMAS. In Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the daughter's name?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know. The only thing I know is that several of the steel club meetings were held at her home.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Harriet Karol?

Mr. THOMAS. Harriet Karol was a member of the Allentown City Club. She handled the finances in that club.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that the Allentown City Club a Communist Club?

Mr. THOMAS. Communist Club.

Mr. MORRIS. All members of that are Communists?

Mr. THOMAS. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Dave Karol?

Mr. THOMAS. Dave Karol was her husband. He was chairman of the club. I might say he was quite a large contributor to the party. I don't know if you are aware of the fact that the dues of the party are based on the amount of money you earn. I know Dave Karol was paying \$10 a month dues plus \$20 a month sustainer.

Mr. MORRIS. What percentage of his salary was that?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, if you earned over \$100 a week you paid \$10 a month.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Mark Pavlich?

Mr. THOMAS. He is an old time Communist Party member in Bethlehem.

Mr. MORRIS. What is his business?

Mr. THOMAS. He is sort of a contractor. He does subcontracting, quite instrumental in distributing the Sunday Worker up until May 6, 1954, which is the official newspaper of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Andy Omhold?

Mr. THOMAS. Andy Omhold was one of the husbands of the late Ella Reeve Bloor. He still resides at April Farms. It is near Spinnerstown, Pa.

Mr. MORRIS. I have one other name. Who was M. Michael Freedland, 230 South 16th Street, Allentown?

Mr. THOMAS. Mike Freedland no longer resides in Allentown, Pa. He was part owner of the Radio-Television and Technical School in Allentown, Pa. Quite a few meetings of the top level leaders of the party were held at his home. At one time he was the pick up man of the literature, Communist Party literature, there was a time when the Communists weren't sending any literature through the mails. In order to get up our publications, why, Mike Freedland, who had frequent business in Philadelphia, would pick up this literature at a drop in Philadelphia and bring it back to his home where I would pick it up to disseminate among the different party clubs in the Lehigh Valley area.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, the information that we had lacking before, the Bethlehem Steel strike referred to, the one that was prolonged by the Communists—

Mr. THOMAS. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. Lasted from June 3, 1952, until July 24, 1952, does that square with your recollection?

Mr. THOMAS. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, that's all I have of this witness. The purpose of the testimony is to give the subcommittee and therefore, the Senate a general sketch of the strength of the Communist Party organization as this particular witness knew it in the general Philadelphia area. From time to time the subcommittee does look at particular sectors of the Communist Party, and in that way can get a general estimate of what the Communist Party strength is throughout the country.

It is limited in the sense that this particular witness, Senator, does not know the whole workings of the Communist Party in the area because he was a specialist in steel, but his activities did flow over and he was a specialist in steel, but his activities did flow over and he did know something about the other things that he has been able to tell us about.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there anything further?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator, unless you have any questions.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well, the witness will be excused. Thank you very much for coming in.

Mr. THOMAS. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, we have several other things that have come up since the last meeting. For instance, there is a man named Walter Poleshuck who was identified by the witness on Tuesday as a member of the Singer Sewing Machine section of the Communist Party. Now in yesterday's papers in Newark, N. J., this man issued all kinds of statements critical of the witness, William Wallace. He has challenged the veracity of the witness, and I think in fairness not only to the witness but to our record that a subpena should be issued to Mr. Walter Poleshuck to come and testify under oath as to the things he is saying. I think it is also true, Senator, that we should issue subpensas for several of the other people who have been involved in the testimony of Mr. Wallace in the general areas of Essex and Union Counties, N. J.

Senator HRUSKA. I think that would be well. The staff will act accordingly. It would be fair not only to the witness who has already testified but the men about whom he has testified. After all, he should be given an opportunity in this same forum to issue his denials or explanations if he has any.

Mr. MORRIS. One other point, Senator, before calling the next witness. Mr. Wallace testified yesterday or Tuesday rather than in connection with Local 477 of the International United Electrical Workers, which is an AFL-CIO union that the president of the particular local was to his knowledge a Communist, that the financial secretary-treasurer was a Communist, that the business manager was a Communist, that the business agent was a Communist. Now with officials that numerous and in those influential positions in the union, the suggestion that possibly the local union, which is now an AFL-CIO local, the local comprising 1,100 members might well be under the control of the Communist Party, and therefore of direct use to the subcommittee in its search as to whether or not Communists have in fact infiltrated the main stream of American labor. Senator, if you think it is appropriate and following up this work of the subcommittee, we could subpenea and ask these particular five witnesses who are officials of local 477 whether or not the testimony of Mr. Wallace is accurate.

Senator HRUSKA. Does your information extend to the fact then as to whether or not they are still officers of that particular local?

Mr. MORRIS. We used a letterhead, Senator, that is fairly current. I don't know the exact date of it but the letterhead of that particular local was one that appeared to be a current letterhead.

Senator HRUSKA. The staff is instructed to proceed along that line then and issue the subpensas and get them in here and bring them before the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Very well, Senator. The next witness is Herman Solitrin, Senator, who has been identified now by two witnesses before the subcommittee as somebody who is a full-fledged member of the Communist Party. Consistent with the subcommittee's practices, Senator, we try to give anyone who is mentioned in this testimony an opportunity to deny the testimony.

Lately because of the restrictions imposed upon the subcommittee, by the Supreme Court, the tendency has been for us more and more to put on our affirmative witnesses. I think, Senator, if we put them on and give these people an opportunity to testify, we will be able to get a good estimate of what the Communist Party's strength is.

Senator HRUSKA. I think that is very fine. We are, of course, engaged in canvassing particularly the movement of the Communist Party into the main stream of organized labor.

Mr. MORRIS. That's right, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. And where testimony indicates as in the case of this next witness that they are familiar with some of the aspects and activities along this line, the committee is very interested in that. After all, it does bear upon the pending and the proposed legislation dealing with subversives and Communist Party members in industry and especially in defense industry. To that extent it has a very clear legislative purpose and we will try to limit our questions to those questions which would bear on the legislation which we are considering.

Mr. Solitrin, will you step forward? You have already been sworn. The record will show that Mr. Solitrin has already been sworn.

Mr. MORRIS. Take the witness chair there, Mr. Solitrin. Then your voice will carry directly to the chair.

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Chairman.

Senator HRUSKA. Indicate for the record your name and your address and your capacity.

Mr. McCABE. Louis F. McCabe, attorney, 1218 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa. I may say first, sir, that I am appearing here as substitute or emergency counsel for Mr. Solitrin. His attorney, Walter C. Longstreth, who was prepared to represent him at the previous occasions at meetings in Philadelphia to which Mr. Solitrin had been subpoenaed I believe wrote to the committee under date of July 15 of this year stating that some time previously his vacation had been arranged, reservations had been made beginning with the 20th of July extending for a month and requesting that Mr. Solitrin not be subpoenaed during that time.

Mr. MORRIS. May I break in, Mr. McCabe?

Mr. McCABE. I was going to follow that up. I have been advised by Judge Morris that when it was decided to request Mr. Solitrin to come to Washington to testify, I believe that he was asked to come on the 18th.

Mr. Longstreth expressed a willingness to come at whatever inconvenience to himself, but Mr. Solitrin, at that time being the father of a new-born baby that wasn't doing so well, found it impossible to come, and under those circumstances I agreed to come here and do what little I could in this matter.

I should like at this time, sir, in behalf of Mr. Solitrin to object at the outset of this hearing on the ground that the subcommittee has no right to conduct such hearing under the authority of Senate Resolu-

tion 366 and the supplements thereto purporting to authorize the investigation.

I base this objection primarily upon the vagueness of the resolution as analyzed in the decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Watkins v. the United States* and in the memorandum opinion of Judge Youngdahl in the case of Seymour Peck in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia so that any questions put to Mr. Solitrin at this hearing constitute an invasion of his rights of privacy, thoughts, associations, and the freedom of speech guaranteed to him by the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Senator HRUSKA. Do we understand, does the chairman understand by that that asserting the privilege is under the first amendment and not under the fifth amendment?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir, that is not the purport of this. The first objection is under the first amendment. I have advised my client that, since the law as enunciated in *Watkins* and *Peck* has not yet crystallized to the extent that all of its impacts are clear, if the chairman overrules the objection to the right of the committee to conduct this meeting, then he will be guided by counsel I trust with respect to the assertion of other rights under the Constitution of the United States.

Senator HRUSKA. That is in prospect. After all you can't operate in prospect here. We are in the present. You either assert that privilege or you don't. Now I should think you have to make a stand sometime. You will certainly be required here, because the record will show, whether or not you are going to assert both or one or neither.

Mr. McCABE. I would say that from what I have heard here today there is no doubt but that the defendant—excuse me, the witness—will be advised by counsel that it is advisable for him to assert the privileges guaranteed to him by the fifth amendment of the United States Constitution as well as those guaranteed by the first amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well, we will proceed with the questioning and you may assert your objections to each specific question as it arises.

Mr. McCABE. May I be advised, sir, as to whether the first objection having been overruled by the chairman, whether in the interests of Congress, saving time of the committee as well as of the others, that objection, inasmuch as it is addressed to every question put by the committee, whether that objection may be taken as made to every question?

Senator HRUSKA. The record will show that insofar as the objection upon the basis of lack of jurisdiction of the committee is concerned, it will be taken to have been asserted against each of the questions asked. It will also show that in each instance that objection is overruled by the chairman, and we will proceed from there. However, as to these other objections, they will have to be made as we go along.

Mr. SOLITRIN. I understand, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Solitrin, in connection with this first question, the subcommittee is trying to determine the identity of a certain group of Communists who, according to the sworn testimony of two witnesses, operated in labor, in the labor section of the Communist Party in and around Allentown and Easton, Pa. The subcommittee wants to know that because they are trying to determine how many Communists have

now gone into the main stream of American labor. The subcommittee has learned that the Communist Control Act of 1954 is not adequate to cope with the current Communist danger that threatens the United States and two witnesses, specifically, Mr. Harry G. Walter, and the witness this morning whose testimony you have heard, have said that you were a member of the Communist Party in that particular section.

One of them specifically said that you were at a meeting in Mike Freedland's home where a map was drawn of the Bethlehem Steel plant mapping out the various departments of the plant.

We would like to know if, in fact, you have been a member of the Communist Party in that area. Not only would the subcommittee like the information but in all fairness to you, since your name has been mentioned in the public testimony as a member of the Communist Party, we would like to give you an opportunity to say the evidence is not so, if that is the fact.

Now, were you a member of the Communist Party in the eastern district of the Communist Party, the eastern Pennsylvania district of the Communist Party in the time specified by the two witnesses?

**TESTIMONY OF HERMAN A. SOLITRIN, ACCCOMPANIED BY LOUIS F. McCABE, ATTORNEY**

Mr. SOLITRIN. Judge Morris, I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the fifth amendment?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Yes, the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair recognizes the validity of that objection and that refusal.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, Mr. Solitrin, make a contribution to a man named Harry G. Walter of \$25 asking him to make himself scarce, to use the words of the testimony, in 1954 when the Senate investigation committee was conducting an investigation into communism in the steel plant?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Do you mind if I consult with my attorney?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. SOLITRIN. Judge Morris, I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair recognizes the validity of that ground for refusing to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge has a subpoena been issued?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Sir?

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, has a subpoena been issued requiring your presence before the Senate committee on that occasion? Was a subpoena issued asking you to be present to testify?

Mr. SOLITRIN. On this occasion or what occasion?

Mr. MORRIS. No, no, 1954. I am sorry. Excuse me. According to the testimony you gave Walter \$25 so that he would avoid service of the subpoena. To your knowledge was the subpoena issued for Walter?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. SOLITRIN. I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. Objection recognized.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of district 3 of the Communist Party in Bethlehem?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Do you mind if I consult with counsel?

(Witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. SOLITRIN. Judge Morris, I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. Ground for refusal recognized.

Mr. MORRIS. According to the testimony of Mr. Walter, Mr. Joseph Kusma was present at the meeting in Mike Freedman's home. Was Joseph Kusma present at that meeting?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Do you mind if I consult with my attorney?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

(Witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. SOLITRIN. Judge Morris, I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. The ground is recognized.

Mr. MORRIS. Was William Power at that meeting?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Judge Morris, I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. The ground is recognized. May I suggest that it is all right for the witness to simply say the same objection until it is changed and that will save time.

Mr. SOLITRIN. In other words, I do not have to read this statement. I just say what?

Senator HRUSKA. The objection is the same and it will be all right.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think that we have now asked the witness the substance of the testimony, of the evidence concerning him. It is apparent from his answer that he is not going to supply us the evidence that he is capable of giving, and, therefore, I suggest, Senator, except for asking him whether or not he is still active in the Communist Party, I suggest that he be excused from further testimony.

Senator HRUSKA. You ask your additional questions and we will proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a Communist?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. SOLITRIN. No, I am not.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist 3 days ago?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Judge Morris—I don't have to read this any more?

Senator HRUSKA. Just say, "the same objection."

Mr. SOLITRIN. The same objection.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist yesterday?

Mr. SOLITRIN. The same objection.

Senator HRUSKA. The same observation by the chairman in each instance, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you resign from the Communist Party, submit a resignation to the Communist Party in order to be able to say here in your testimony today that you are not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Will you repeat that statement?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you effect tactical resignation from the Communist Party so that you might be able to, for the purpose of your appearance before the subcommittee, say that you are not now a member of the Communist Party as you testify here?

Mr. SOLITRIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you resign from the Communist Party?

Mr. SOLITRIN. The same objection, or whatever it is.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party last night at 8 o'clock?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Same objection.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at 10 o'clock this morning, at 5 of 10, when you went into Senator Hruska's office?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Same objection.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party while Mr. Thomas was testifying?

Mr. McCABE. Will you just indulge us a moment?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. SOLITRIN. Do you want to repeat that last question?

Mr. McCABE. In view of the tenor of the questions propounded by Judge Morris by the last 3 questions, I think that the witness, if he could go back to about 3 questions ago when we got down to the race between the tortoise and the hare, whether we would like to revise the answer, that is, I think when you started—

Mr. MORRIS. Three days ago, you mean being a Communist 3 days ago? How about that. Were you a Communist 3 days ago?

Mr. SOLITRIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist when the subpoena was served on you?

Mr. McCABE. No.

Mr. SOLITRIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist the day before the subpoena was served on you?

Mr. SOLITRIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist when Mr. Walter testified?

Mr. McCABE. May that last question be clarified as to when Mr. Walter testified? Is that his testimony given a week or so ago?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Walter testified 2 weeks ago. Were you a Communist when he was testifying at that time?

Mr. SOLITRIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Same objection or something like that, whatever that statement is. I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment, protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on June 1, 1957?

Mr. SOLITRIN. I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. Ground for refusal is recognized in both instances.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on July 1, 1957?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Judge Morris, I decline to answer that question under the provisions of the fifth amendment protecting me from being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. The ground is recognized as a valid reason for refusing to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on the 4th of July 1957?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Judge Morris, the same objection.

Mr. MORRIS. How about July 15, 1957? That was a date after the testimony of Mr. Walter. July 15 was the date after the testimony of Mr. Walter.

Mr. McCABE. I think he has already answered the question.

Mr. SOLITRIN. The date you just gave?

Mr. MORRIS. July 4, 1957, you claimed your privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOLITRIN. Right, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. July 15 is the date subsequent to the 4th of July; I mean a date subsequent to the time that Mr. Walter testified. Were you a Communist on July 15?

Mr. SOLITRIN. I was not at the time of—

Mr. MORRIS. You were not?

Mr. SOLITRIN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you tell us what happened between July 4, 1957, and July 15, 1957, to cause you to give a different answer to the question; were you a member of the Communist Party on July 15? Will you tell the committee what happened to cause you to give the subcommittee a different answer to those two questions?

Mr. SOLITRIN. You have got me confused. Where am I?

(The witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. SOLITRIN. The reasons for the difference in the answer is to the effect that had we continued in the previous manner I might have possibly committed myself to a position I do not wish to accept.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with your privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, if you gave us a full answer as to the reason for the different answers, that you would be possibly putting into evidence something that could lead to your conviction at some future time? I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you want to waive an answer to that last question?

Mr. McCABE. He did not give any answer. I was advising him. If he were required to answer that and give a full exposition of his thoughts—

Mr. MORRIS. It is the fifth amendment.

Mr. McCABE. It is the fifth amendment; yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator, I have no further questions.

Senator, the executive session shows the full name and addresss of this witness. I think the open session should do the same thing, Senator, obviously.

What is your full name, Mr. Solitrin?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Herman A. Solitrin.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside.

Mr. SOLITRIN. 5823 North 15th Street, Philadelphia.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or profession?

Mr. SOLITRIN. I am a retail clerk.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you work?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Because I have already stated that I am a retail clerk and since you are investigating industry, particularly, perhaps the name of my employer would cause a lot of embarrassment to this person. Is it a sensitive question in regard to this point? You probably already have my employer's name.

Senator HRUSKA. For the time being let us waive that question. What is the nature of your duties?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Handling food; food handling relatively.

Senator HRUSKA. How long have you been employed in your present place of employment?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Two and a half years.

Senator HRUSKA. What did you do by way of business or profession prior to that time?

Mr. SOLITRIN. Worked in construction before that.

Senator HRUSKA. I did not hear you.

Mr. SOLITRIN. Construction, you know, laying pavements and cement work before that job.

Senator HRUSKA. Any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. If not, the witness is excused.

Anything further, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I think not, Senator. The next scheduled testimony we have is next Tuesday when we have Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, and one other witness who will testify about efforts of Harry Bridges on the New York waterfront.

Senator HRUSKA. The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a. m., the hearing was adjourned.)



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